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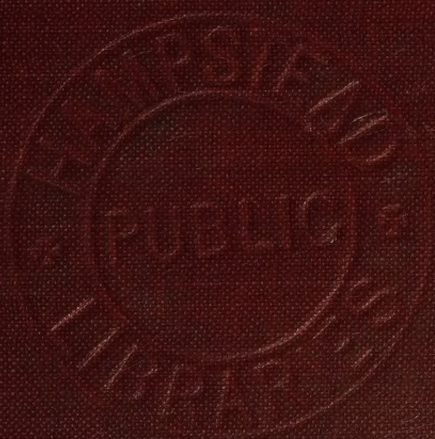

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MEMORIALS OF OLD NORTH WALES

EDITED BY

E. ALFRED JONES

AUTHOR OF

"The Old Plate of the Cambridge Colleges," "The Gold and Silver of Windsor Castle," "The Old Silver of American Churches," and other Works

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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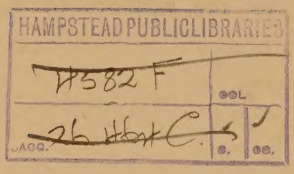

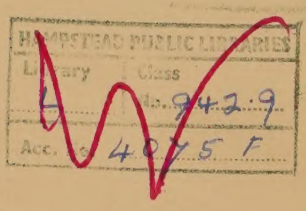

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PREFACE

THIS work has no pretensions to be a general history of North Wales; its main purpose is to throw into relief certain features, archæological and historical, architectural and biographical, which necessarily cannot receive full treatment in a general history.

I desire to express to the authors of the various chapters my warm appreciation of their generosity in contributing these chapters.

E. ALFRED JONES.

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HISTORIC WALES

By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A.

THE name of the land of the Welsh folk is a misnomer. It signifies the land of the strangers, the aliens. A country that has been united with England since the time of the first Edward, which was bound by closer ties in the sixteenth century, which earned the proud title of "Loyal Wales," and in the struggle of the seventeenth century, when king and commons were in armed conflict, manned every castle for its sovereign's cause,—such a land can scarcely be deemed a strangers' country. But so they seemed to the Saxon conquerors of Britain who made little headway against the fierce mountain tribes who refused to accept the invaders' yoke. They have always called themselves Cymri, the people who were always there, who spake their own native tongue, Cymraeg, and remained free in their own mountain fastnesses when the rest of the land was enslaved. Cambria the Romans called their land, and it is a fair land of lofty mountains and giant hills, of wondrous valleys, peaceful lakes, and rushing streams and waterfalls, while the historian finds each height and cliff crowned by castles and the relics of a primeval age, around which cluster many a curious legend and strange romance.

Cambria is a land of heroes, of a fighting race, eager for war and clever in strategy. In spite of the jeremiads of St. Gildas the Wise, it has been a land of saints. Few countries can muster so long a roll of holy men and women as Wales can. From the time of the mission of St. German, no less than four hundred and seventy-nine

have been deemed worthy of the crown of saintship. It is a land, too, of melody and song, of poetry and romance. Even now no singers chant sweeter songs than our Welsh minstrels, and long ago, even when men were barbarous and savage, Celtic fancy wove an amazing texture of pure phantasy, peopled the earth with heroes, read the mysteries of nature, and listened to the sweet voices of the birds in the lulling songs of the woods. Though there was civil strife, with endless feuds and bloodshed, though every man's hand sought his neighbour's throat, the Welsh bard loved his own land, and praises "its sea-coast, and its mountains, its towns on the front border, its fair landscape, its dales, its waters and its valleys, its white sea-mews, its beauteous women." He struck his harp and fired the breast of the warriors of his tribe, told them in stirring verse of the deeds of their forefathers, of the joy of battle, of their hatred of the Saxon, and roused their patriotic feelings to the pitch of madness, till they hurled themselves upon the hosts of the invaders and won for themselves the victory. Even in these peaceful days you will not hear unmoved a Welsh choir chanting their patriotic strains that aroused their forefathers to valiant deeds.

The history of the Welsh people is full of absorbing interest, and the stories of its earlier period presents some difficulty and some obscure points which have not been fully explained. We cannot find space to discuss the rival theories of Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Basil Jones with regard to the origin of the Welsh people, but it is difficult to accept the idea of the former that after the departure of the Roman legionaries Cambria was conquered and colonised by the Armoricans from Brittany. Mr. Wright rejects the popular idea that when the Saxon hordes poured over Britain and made it England, the native Celts found refuge in the fastnesses of Wales. Would they have destroyed their own towns within the Welsh borders? he asks. Would they not have spoken the Latin tongue? It is impossible to enter now upon

the discussion of such vexed questions. We can only record known facts.

Across the border land of Wales, which at an early period included Monmouthshire and the shire of Salop, there was a stalwart race of Celtic origin who lived in tribal communities, differing much from the village communities that existed in the more eastern country. They were a pastoral people, and each clan had two sets of homesteads. In summer their herds fed on the higher ranges of the hills, and in winter in the valleys. Just as we see to-day in the Alpine regions, the men had homesteads for summer and winter use. Each district was occupied by a tribe (*cenedl*) under the leadership of a petty king (*brenhin*) or chief. They were all warriors, eager for war, always ready to rush to arms for a raid or battle, very jealous for their rights and eager to engage in any wild enterprise. They were very proud of their race, told strange stories of the achievements of their ancestors, which their poets and bards extolled in wild and inspiring verse. Each man could trace his descent, was proud of his genealogy, and could tell the names of his sire and grandsire and other forefathers through many generations. Thus we have *Rhys*, son of Gruffydd, son of Rhys, son of Theodor, son of Einion, son of Owen, son of Howel, son of Cadell, son of Roderic Mawr, &c. The tribal system, the economy of Wales, differed much from the social conditions of England.

The Roman power pressed heavily on the Cambrian land. Roman influence was felt everywhere. The country was traversed in every direction by a multiplicity of Roman roads, which penetrated into its wildest recesses, wherein the Roman arms ruled. Roman towns, stations, camps, posts, villas, and mines have been discovered throughout the length and breadth of the country. Watling Street, which ran from Dover through London to Chester, extended along the coast of Wales through Conovium (Conway) past Aber to Segontium (Carnarvon).

From Conovium the Sarn Helen road ran due south on the west side of the Vale of Llanrwst, over the moor behind Gwydir, near Festiniog, Dolgelly, Trawsfynydd, and then parallel with the coast line to Maridunum (Carmarthen). A branch ran hence to St. David's in a westerly direction, and another north-west to Castell Llecheyd, when it joined another Sarn Helen road that ran north and south from Caersws to Neath, and then turned eastward following the southern coast, passing through Llandaff to Isca or Caerleon, Caerwent, and so across the Severn to Bath. Another road ran from Caerwent to Mitcheldean, and then to Glevum (Gloucester). Another through Blestium (Monmouth) to Burrium (Usk), and then joined the road that ran from Isca through Gobannium (Abergavenny), through Brecknock and Llandovery, till it joined the first Sarn Helen near Lampeter. A branch of the Watling Street came from Uriconium (Wroxeter) to Kenchester (Magnæ), and then separated into two branches, one going to Brecknock and the other to Abergavenny. These are the principal Roman roads that traversed the future Principality. They were guarded by forts and camps. How far the Celtic tribes were completely conquered, it is impossible to say. Doubtless there were large and numerous bands who frequented the mountain fastnesses, and refused to submit to the Roman yoke.

There are numerous remains of the early Celtic folk. Camps and earthworks crown the hillsides, and very numerous are the megalithic monuments in Wales, stone-circles, menhirs, dolmens. Their religion was Druidism, that mysterious faith concerning which the antiquaries of an earlier age fashioned many apocryphal stories. Cæsar tells us something about the Druid priests, the religious guides of the people and guardians of the law. They taught that the soul was immortal, and studied the deep sciences of astrology, geography, and nature. Diodorus Siculus calls them theologians and soothsayers. Groves of oak were their chosen retreats. The mistletoe was the

gift of heaven, and had to be cut with a golden knife by a priest clad in a white robe, two bulls being sacrificed. Britain was the headquarters of Druidism, and Anglesey, *Môn mam Cymru*, Mona, the nursing mother of Wales, the retreat and asylum of its priests when the Roman legions poured over the land. Hither came Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 58, to extirpate the Druids; but Tacitus tells us that the soldiers were awe-struck on landing by a band of Druids, who, in their priestly garb with hands uplifted to heaven, poured forth terrible imprecations on the heads of the invaders. But either then, or twenty years later, under Julius Agricola, the groves were destroyed and the rites suppressed. The system was of the essence of nature worship. In the depths of many a Welsh forest the priests, clad in white and wearing ornaments of gold, celebrated their mystic rites. The stone monuments, dolmens, and menhirs were connected with their funeral customs. Much mystic teaching has been woven around this ancient Celtic worship, but upon this we cannot now dwell. The days of Druidism were passing away. Perhaps the Roman armies killed it; perhaps it fell before the gentle sway of the Cross, which was planted early in this western land, and called many suppliants to its feet. Perhaps it strove to weave itself amid the branches of the true vine that bore richer and more enduring fruit.

We cannot tell how Christianity came to Wales, nor give any exact date. Probably it came with soldiers and travellers along the Roman road which led by Gloucester to Caerwent, Caerleon, Cardiff, Neath, and Carmarthen. Caerleon was the seat of a British bishopric in Roman times, and its bishop, Adelfius, attended the Council of Arles in 314. There are few traces of British Christianity in the Roman period in Great Britain, and very few in Wales. Some inscriptions are interpreted to signify a Christian meaning, but there are not many, and these are a little uncertain. Welsh patriotism tries to persuade itself that St. Patrick was a Welshman, a native of Gower,

and that his father's name was Mawon, and his own Padrig Maenwyr, but this is unlikely. Pelagius, the founder of the Pelagian heresy, is believed to have been a Welshman, his patronymic being Morgan. To counteract his false teaching conveyed to this country by his follower Agricola, St. German and St. Lupus were sent by the French bishops. The former is said to have visited Wales, and to have been the hero of the great "Alleluia Victory." I should like to quote Bede's story of that memorable fight, but I can only tell it very shortly. The Britons during Lent, fresh from the baptismal waters of salvation, perceived the advance of an armed host of Picts and Saxons. German placed himself at the head of his flock, and ordered them to await in silence the onslaught of the foe. Then he bids them shout one long battle-cry, "Alleluia!" They call aloud. The hollows of the mountains multiply the clamour of their reverberations. Panic seizes the foe. They think the mountains are falling on them, that the sky is crushing down upon them. They fly in all directions. Silently the British watch the retreat of their enemies, and gather the spoils of the foe conquered by their faith. Such is the story, which cannot be a myth, though some would have us so believe. This battle-field is said to be the Vale of Mold, and the little church where the converts had been baptized that at Llanarmon-in-Iâl. The memory of the saint is preserved by several church dedications in Wales, and also of his companion Lupus, known locally as Bleiddian.

The mission of St. German ushered in the age of saints. Before him there had been a few deemed worthy of the honour of saintship. We know their names, which convey little to our mind, and they need not detain us. Celtic fancy has woven many stories about the lives of these saints, and added strange myths and legends. There is a similarity about these tales, which had a useful purpose, viz. to impress upon the minds of the people the power of God transmitted to His servants, and to show

how vainly the might of the wicked is arrayed against it. Thus St. Cadoc of Llancarfan was refused a warm fire on a cold night by a rustic, who was immediately burnt to death with his corn and farm. A swineherd about to slay a saint was blinded, his arm paralysed, but was made whole at the intercession of the saint. It is hard to reconcile such legends with history. But all these stories are not of this nature, and many contain a substratum of truth. The lives of St. David, St. Sampson, and many others are accurate enough, though here and there embellished by the imagination of the writer, or the myths handed down by a fanciful people.

And here we must say a word about Gildas, "the Wise," who draws a fearful picture of his times, of wickedness in high places, of the sins of priests and people. He mentions the names of some of their Welsh princes, whom he accuses of every sin. Aurelius Conan, Constantine of Damnonia, Cuneglas, Maelgwn Gwynedd, who "had crushed most vigorously, with sword, spear, and fire, the king, his uncle, with almost the bravest soldiers, whose countenances seemed in battle not greatly unlike to those of lions' whelps." But who was this Gildas who wrote so violently and denounced so vigorously? Was he a fifth or sixth century monk, a contemporary of the events he describes? There was a Gildas of the fifth century, but did he write this book? There are reasons for believing that it is a forgery of the seventh century, written to discredit the Welsh Church in the time of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. We have not space to give reasons for this view. The interested reader may seek them in the pages of Mr. Thomas Wright's *Biographia Literaria*. However, the pictures drawn by Gildas of the crimes of violence and unchastity are partly confirmed by the Book of Llandaff, which tells of many shameful deeds on the part of the princes and rulers. It was considered a wonderful thing that no murder had been wrought in the court of Aircol Lawhir, Prince of Dyfed, after the help of

St. Teilo had been sought and his blessing obtained, as before that a murder had taken place each night.

We need not record the revival and Church progress that ensued, the establishment of bishoprics, the foundation of monasteries, as other chapters will treat of these subjects. We may note, here, that five bishoprics were established, after the fashion of the age, the bishop's seat being fixed at the court of the king or chief ruler. Thus Bangor was the bishopric of Gwynedd, St. Asaph for Powysland, St. David's for Dyfed, Llanbadarn for Ceredigion, and Llandaff for Gwent and Morganwg. These prelates were abbots as well as bishops, their monasteries being the especial glory of the Church in Wales. Of these you will read in another chapter of our book. The Welsh Church became a centre of light and learning, sending its missionaries to other lands, planting colonies in other countries, a Mother of Churches.

We will pass over, too, the well-known scene at Augustine's Oak, where the British bishops met the Apostle of the English, and, unawed by his arrogance, clung tenaciously to their own manners and customs.

But we must turn to the secular history of this country. When the Roman power was withdrawn, some obscurity is cast over the subsequent events. We hear of a Prince of Cambria in 444 A.D., named Caswallon, fixing his residence in Mona's Isle (Anglesey), and as the eldest ruler receiving homage from the other Welsh princes. His palace was at Aberffraw. Though the Saxons swept over the remaining part of Britain, they made little impression on gallant little Wales. They, however, gained a great victory over the British forces at Uriconium, beside the Wrekin, over which the Welsh bard sang his dirge, "the white town in the valley, the town of white stone gleaming among the green woodland, the hall of its chieftain left without fire, without light, without songs, the silence broken only by the scream of the eagle, this eagle who has swallowed fresh drink, heart's blood of Kyndylan the fair." Deorhan

in 577 proved disastrous to the Welsh forces, and in the north Æthelfrith of Northumbria swooped down upon Chester, in 613, and then ensued that strange battle, in which two thousand monks went with the warriors to the fight, and prayed with outstretched arms to heaven, but failed to avert the defeat inflicted on the Welsh. That was a sad day for the gallant Welsh folk. But revenge followed swiftly. They could no longer rely on the help and co-operation of their brethren of the Cymbri-land or Cumberland and the Britons of Strathclyde; they were cut off from their kith and kin in Devon and Cornwall, and had to meet unaided the relentless arms of Mercia; but the rival Saxon kingdoms were so busy waging war with each other that they had little time to spend upon subduing the wild Welsh. The Welsh had their own internal divisions, rival princes fighting with each other, and so rendering their country weak, and unable to resist oppression. When the Mercian kingdom rose to power under Offa, having subdued his other neighbours, he turned upon the Welsh border. Hard fighting ensued. He drove back the brave British in spite of all their courage, reduced the principality to about its present limits, and Offa's Dyke, that great earthwork, is a memorial of his conquest.

Then came the victorious conqueror of Mercia: Ecgbert of Wessex made himself overlord of Southern England, and then of all the English kingdoms. Unsatisfied, he turned his eyes westward; Wales he determined to subdue. He invaded that country, and obtained a great victory over the Welsh at Rhuddlan, on the marshy ground between the town and the sea. Caradoc led the Welsh, and fierce was the fighting. Hundreds of Welsh prisoners were taken and ruthlessly slaughtered, and most of the rest were drowned in the marsh. Well might the bards sing the most plaintive of Welsh melodies, Morfa Rhuddlan (the Marsh of Rhuddlan). Again at Llanfaes, near Beaumaris in the isle of Anglesey, he conquered and forced

the Welsh prince to do homage to the crown of England. Among the prominent Welsh chiefs was Roderic Mawr, who ruled in the ninth century, and divided Wales into three principalities, named Venedotia, or North Wales, Povesia or Powysland, and Demetia or South Wales. This was about the year 843 A.D. On his death these three principalities were ruled over by his three sons, their palaces being situated at Aberffraw in Anglesey, Dinevor in Carmarthenshire, and Mathrafal in Montgomeryshire. The peace of the country was disturbed by the hateful Danes, who ravaged the towns on the coast, and carried fire and sword inland. In 987 they invaded the coast of Cardiganshire, burned the churches of Llanbadarn and Llanrhystyd, destroyed the corn and devoured the cattle, so that the whole district was reduced to a wilderness; famine ensued and many people died. They visited Pembrokeshire, and destroyed the churches of St. David, and St. Dogmael. But the country of hills and dales and mountains pleased not the Vikings, who loved to attack a more easy prey, and the Welsh were rather grateful to them for fighting against their old enemies in England, hoping thereby to gain more complete independence. In 926, an important council of the chief Welsh folk, a sort of Parliament composed of bishops and chiefs, under the presidency of the Cambrian ruler, called Hywel Ddâ (Howel the Good). It was held at Whitland Abbey, and there the Cambrian laws were revised and the code of Howel the Good drawn up, by which the land was governed for over three centuries. One item proclaims that the "Prince of Aberffraw" owes to the "King of London" a yearly tribute.

When the Danes were harrying England, the Welsh rulers disregarded tribute and homage, and whenever there was trouble across the border, they took advantage of it to assert their independence. Often and often the wild Welsh bands attacked and harried Chester, as we have recorded in the volume of this series dealing with that

county ; and in the time of Edward the Confessor, when there was strife between Earl Godwin and Leofric, and the State affairs were in confusion under the guidance of the foolish "miracle-working" king, the war-horns sounded, and across Offa's Dyke the Welshmen rushed under the leadership of their prince Gruffydd ap Llewelyn of North Wales. But the raid was avenged—Harold, splendid soldier and leader of the English, the victim of Senlac, invaded Wales. He attacked Rhuddlan Castle, and burnt it to the ground. He advanced in vessels along the sea-coast with light-armed troops, scaled the high hills where the Welsh, like eagles, had made their nests, free, as they thought, from the attacks of the hated English. But Harold came, captured Prince Gruffydd in his fastness, and cut off his head, compelling his followers and successors to do homage and pay tribute.

But soon England was destined to have a change of masters. Soon Harold lay dead at Senlac ; and William the Norman was marching through the fair fields of England, and assigned the estates of the dispossessed thanes to his Norman followers and adventurers. The effect of the Conquest was soon felt on the principality. A wild foray across the border had always been a favourite amusement for the war-loving Welsh. An attack on Chester, Shrewsbury, or other English towns always gave supreme satisfaction, especially when the booty was great and the raid successful. The Stark William would have none of this. Soon a train of strong fortresses arose along the border, manned by well-armed warriors and valiant bowman. Nor was the Conqueror content to confine the Welsh to their own country, and his followers were eager enough to fight them, and to obtain as a reward grants of land where they could build castles and rule as great lords.

Fierce were the fights : when Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, came with a large army to invade Anglesey, he marched his forces through the Pass of Abergele, where

he was furiously attacked by armed bands of Welshmen, who had carefully drawn themselves up to oppose his passage. It was a woeful battle, and over a thousand of the brave British fell dead upon the battle-field. Everywhere they struggled, but wondrous quickly the tall gaunt keep arose, sometimes of wood and later of stone, to overawe the natives and bring them under control. All over the country, north and south, east and west, they arose. Earl Hugh built his castle at Bangor. Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, founded a castle at a place now known as Montgomery, to which he gave his name, and the shire preserves his memory—Montgomeryshire. At Cardigan, and at Aberystwyth, Norman castles arose. Castell Coch, or the Red Castle, stands frowning on the Taff Vale, near Cardiff. The work of castle-building went merrily forward in the time of Henry I. You see Brecon Castle founded by Bernard de Newmarch. Gilbert de Strongbow erected a mighty fortress at Aberystwyth and another at Ystrad Meiric, near Strata Florida Abbey, and was granted Pembroke Castle, erected by Arnulph, son of the aforesaid Roger de Montgomery, a strong place often besieged. This Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, gave his name to the town and shire, as Montgomery had done elsewhere. Manorbeer Castle belongs to the same period, and Carew Castle passed in a more pleasing fashion by conquest to a Norman, as it was bestowed as part of a marriage portion with the hand of his daughter by a Welsh prince, Rhys ap Tewdwr to Gerald de Windsor, to whom Henry I. had given land in these parts. It is pleasant to remember that at least one romance is associated with these grim tokens of Norman power.

One of these Norman castles is associated with a tragic event in English history. In Cardiff Castle was confined the unfortunate Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, who would not assign the crown to him. He was the centre of several conspiracies of powerful friends, and for safe custody his kind and

gentle brothers, the Red King and the First Henry, kept him here a prisoner for a quarter of a century.

It cannot be imagined by any one who knows the Welsh character that they would take all this conquest—in modern phrase, if I may be allowed to use it—"lying down." In the days of the Red King they rose in wrath. From Anglesey to Cardiff, from St. David's to Flint, the war-horns sounded, and called forth the warriors to overwhelm the intruders. Montgomery they burned, and drove back with slaughter the invaders of Brecknock and Cardigan. William the Red twice made expeditions to conquer these irresistible foes. But in vain his efforts. He marched with his heavy-armed knights and men-at-arms, crossed the Severn and pursued these quick-footed men, who led him a wild dance up the hills and mountains, where his soldiers could not find food, and groaned as they toiled up the hills only to find their foe vanished again. Henry I. encouraged his earls and knights to quietly settle down, and conquer by degrees. Hence the large number of castles which were erected in his time, as we have said. Moreover, the Welsh folk often quarrelled amongst themselves, as we have already noticed. South Wales was especially liable to this internal strife. Rhys ap Tewdwr was the last ruler of a united South Wales. He had a dispute with another chieftain, who sent messengers to Fitz Hamo, the lord of Gloucester, requesting his aid. Hamo was delighted. The Prince and his army were defeated. The whole country was in confusion, and the Earl of Gloucester was most successful in acquiring much land on the coast of Glamorgan, which he divided among his soldiers. The south-west corner of the land also felt the yoke of the English. The Earl of Clare, with a body of Flemings and English, landed near Milford Haven, in Pembrokeshire, drove back the Welsh, and formed a "Little England." This colony has ever since existed. Out of 144 parishes more than half are English. The Flemings, too, settled there, and in the peninsula of

Gower, Glamorganshire, where they have retained their modes and manners, dialect and dress, and mingled little with the neighbouring Welsh folk.

Everywhere the British were driven back and beaten. Their day seemed doomed, and their final conquest by the English at hand. The kings strove to get appointed to the sees of Wales Englishmen or Welsh prelates whom they could trust to further the cause of the Crown and to prevent revolt. But a remarkable movement arose. The burning flame of national patriotism burst out anew. The bards tuned again their harps, and sang the praises of their old heroes. In the north chiefly the beacon-light shown from hill to hill, and warmed the hearts of the fighters. Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr were the princes of North Wales, and called their men together to crush this hated Saxon. Thrice did King Henry II. invade the land, and thrice was he repulsed. Owen Gwynedd carried all before him. He fell upon the royal army at the wood of Coleshill, and all but destroyed it. A panic had arisen during the fight. The Earl of Essex, hearing a report that the King was slain, threw down the royal standard, and the soldiers fled and could scarcely be rallied, though the King did all he could to stay the rout. For this conduct in the field Essex was challenged to a wager of battle at the Berkshire town of Reading, was thought to be mortally wounded, but on being carried by the monks into the abbey, he recovered and became a monk of the monastery. The King's second expedition was no less vain. He passed through South Wales as far as Pencader; but his elusive foe could not be found. His men and horses were worn out and dying of hunger, and he had to sound the retreat. Lord Rhys soon wiped out the traces of Saxon invasion and overran the whole of Cardigan. Everywhere the Welshmen triumphed. The allied princes had a powerful army. Owen Gwynedd and Cadwaladr led the northern forces, and Lord Rhys, son of Gruffydd, was the powerful leader of the southern

forces. In Powysland were Owen Cyfeiliog and Iorwerth the Red, son of Maredudd, and the sons of Madog, the son of Maredudd; and other great commanders were the two sons of Madog, son of Idnerth. The eagles were gathered together and sought for prey. Henry came again. They met him in the Vale of Ceiriog. Valiantly they fought. On to Berwyn the English pressed, but their chariot-wheels drave heavily in the mud and mire of a rainy season. Storms of rain burst on the luckless host. They had no food, and there were no farms to pillage. Reluctantly he turned homewards, and with savage cruelty, unable to conquer his foes, in revenge put out the eyes of his helpless prisoners. Well might the exiled prelate, Archbishop Becket, exclaim when the news came to him, "His wise men are become fools: the Lord hath sent among them the spirit of giddiness. They have made England to reel and stagger like a drunken man."

Many were the gallant feats of arms. When Henry's army lay at Saltney, an advanced guard marched westward. Owen Gwynedd's two sons, David and Conan, enticed them into a narrow pass in the woods of Coed Ewloe in Flintshire, and then surprised and attacked them, and scarcely a man was left to bear the tale to the monarch's ears. Another grand victory Prince Owen gained against a Norman fleet that landed at Abermenai, the fight being fought at Maen Rhos Rhyfel, near Holyhead. Loudly did the bard Gwalchmai strike the chords of his harp, as he chanted "the Triumph of Owen," which Gray has translated and begins thus :—

> "Owen's praise demands my song,
> Owen swift and Owen strong,
> Fairest flower of Roderic's stem
> Gwyneth's shield and British gem."

He stormed and destroyed the Norman castle of Mold and that of Aberystwyth, and performed endless deeds of valour. Lord Rhys built for himself a castle at Cardigan, and everywhere the Welshmen triumphed. Nor was the

conquest stayed when Owen died and bards had sung over him the last story of his deeds of valour which lived again in after years to animate his people. The two Llewelyns continued his conquests. First came Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, a stern and stark warrior, whom King John, not being able to subdue, thought to attach him to England by giving to him his daughter Joan in marriage. But such forced marriages turn not to happiness. Joan proved unfaithful, falling in love with William de Breos, a Norman knight, whom Llewelyn had taken prisoner and confined in his palace at Aber. The Prince detected the intrigue, hanged the knight, and then brought Joan to see the gibbeted remains of her lover, having promised to show him to her. The luckless lady was buried in the minster of Llanfaes, a Franciscan house founded by her husband. King John gave to Llewelyn, besides a wife, a faithful hound, Gelert. You know well the story of that hound. Writing for those who love Wales and are, for the most part, Welshmen, I would not dare to throw a doubt upon the genuineness of that tender and pathetic tale. Tiresome folklorists tell us that the same story is told in other lands, as far off as distant Persia. But I shall continue to credit that Gelert's grave is at Beddgelert, and that the dog did save the life of Llewelyn's child.

Steadily the tide of victory flowed. The Welsh raided the border towns. Chester and Shrewsbury suffered greatly. King John was forced to make an expedition against his rebellious son-in-law. An army was despatched to punish the Welsh, and gained the region of Snowdon, but could not strike a blow at the evasive foe, and retired ignominiously. For a time the dream of independence vanished. Though the southern chieftains had sworn allegiance to Llewelyn, the tie was never very strong, and they wavered and at last deserted him. Hence the Prince was obliged to surrender. A treaty was concluded, but the southern chiefs again joined their

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illustrious leader. John was fighting with his barons. He was an excommunicated man, and the Welsh deemed themselves absolved from any treaty obligations. Moreover, the barons enlisted them on their sides, delighted to have the aid of such redoubtable warriors. Shrewsbury and all Powys-land fell before the attacks of Llewelyn. The region of the south was reduced. The castles of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and others were conquered, and the garrisons killed and driven away, and the star of Wales was in the ascendant and seemed to glow with ever-increasing brightness.

Loud sang the bards the glories of Wales and the might of its gallant chief. It were vain to attempt to chant again their lays which tell of "the eagle of men that loves not to lie nor sleep," "towering above the rest with his long red lance." It were vain to try to depict the enthusiasm of the people who recalled the old prophecies of Merlin, and urged each other on by recording the valour of Arthur and his knights. Long did the eagle rule, this Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, from 1194 to 1240, and when at length he died, another Llewelyn arose, the son of Gruffydd, who waxed valiant in fight, and rivalled the triumphs of his great predecessor. He was no longer "Lord of Snowdon," a Prince of Princes, but Prince of a united Wales. Chester again felt the power of the Welsh fighters. The English were driven from the southern shore. Glamorgan was no longer an English garrison. Englishmen were too busy fighting each other in the Barons' War of the reign of Henry III. to find time and strength to contest with Llewelyn the sway of Wales. But when Edward I., a redoubtable warrior, came to the throne, and Llewelyn refused to do homage, and the King retained at Windsor Elinor de Montfort, daughter of Earl Simon, the Prince's destined bride, the struggle was renewed. Internal Welsh dissensions caused the downfall of Welsh independence quite as much as English valour and stubbornness. It is a sad story, a story

of treachery and cunning, of crime and slaughter, and the bards might well rend the strings of their harps when Welshmen turned traitors to their gallant leader, and fought against him. Rhys ap Meredith, the Prince of South Wales, joined with the English, and even David, Llewelyn's own brother, deserted him.

In 1277, in midsummer, Edward crossed the Dee and captured the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, which he repaired and strengthened. His fleet, composed of the vessels of the Cinque Ports, blocked the coast and prevented the Welsh army from getting supplies from Anglesey. They fled to the mountains, and were reduced by hunger and famine, until at last, in the stress of a terrible winter, Llewelyn was forced to yield. Hard terms were dictated by the King at the castle of Rhuddlan, but concessions were made, and ere long Llewelyn married his destined bride. So the first campaign ended. Peace was of short duration. David, though rewarded with a barony, regretted his treachery and urged Llewelyn to revolt. The people were aroused again. David captured Hawarden Castle. Flint and Rhuddlan were besieged. Edward summoned an army and marched again into Wales, and serious fighting ensued, and heavy losses were suffered by the English. Bands of Basques from the Pyrenees, accustomed to mountain warfare, did good service to the English host. The Welsh slew many foes at the Menai Strait, which had been crossed by a bridge of boats. In another battle Edward had to fly for his life, leaving two of his lords dead upon the field.

Events were not going well for the English. Then Edward ordered a large force assembled in the south to march northwards. Llewelyn, leaving his brother David in command, advanced southwards. He was surprised with a few followers at Builth, in the Vale of the Wye, ere he could don his armour, and ruthlessly slain. So ended a brave man, a national hero. David, once the

traitor, was himself betrayed, and barbarously executed at Shrewsbury.

So for the time the struggle ended. King Edward was wise and conciliatory to his conquered foe. The story of the "massacre of the bards" is a myth, and Gray's ode, "The Bard," is founded on fable. He restored order, divided the country into shires and hundreds, built strong castles to keep his hold upon the Welshmen. He issued a proclamation offering peace to all, and a retention of lands, liberties, and property, granted charters to the trading companies of Rhuddlan, Carnarvon, and Aberystwyth, and other towns, and when his infant son was born at Carnarvon Castle he presented him to the people as their countryman, the Prince of Wales. He built or restored the castles at Conway, Carnarvon, Harlech, Flint, Denbigh, Aberystwyth. His principal architect was Henri de Elreton, who devised that improved plan of Edwardian castle which supplanted the old Norman keep. They were usually oblong in plan, and consisted of four towers at the corners, with curtain walls between these, and a massive gateway in the centre of one side. Moreover, he held a Parliament at Rhuddlan in 1283, when the Statute of Rhuddlan was passed, which secured to the Principality its judicial rights and independence.

The flame of insurrection broke out again a few years later under a leader named Madoc, but for nearly two hundred years the land had rest. The conqueror's son, the first Prince of Wales, unfortunate Edward II., found a temporary shelter in Wales, at Neath Abbey, in 1326, just before he lost his kingdom and his life at Berkeley Castle, and he also sought safety at Caerphilly Castle, which he had given to his favourite, Hugh le Despenser, the younger.

Another unhappy King, Richard II., saw his doom sealed in Wales. He was returning from Ireland, landed at Milford Haven, and was induced to stay at Conway

Castle, where he was captured by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, conducted to Flint Castle, and betrayed to Henry of Lancaster. During his reign was born a remarkable man at Plas Penmynydd, in Anglesey, Owen Tudor, who married Katherine of France, widow of Henry V. He was introduced at Court as "an accomplished and handsome Welsh gentleman," though he came of a lowly stock. However, he pleased his wife, who bore him several children; and one of them was the father of Henry of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. So this simple Welshman became the ancestor of the Tudor kings.

England was divided by the usurpation of the throne by Henry IV., and Wales, profiting by the conflict, burst into revolt at the call of Owen Glyndwr, a descendant of the old princes. His achievements rivalled the exploits of the Llewelyns, and much space would be required to record his battles, triumphs, and varied fortunes. We have noted all his deeds of valour, his violence, and unwarrantable acts, but have no space in which to record them. Cardiff he captured, and destroyed many others. He has been styled "Great Glendwr," "the light of Powys," the hero of Sycharth, and of many fights, but he would have left a brighter name if he had not sullied his gallant struggle on behalf of the liberties of his country by ill deeds done to the Church. All through Wales we find traces of his reckless hand, in churches destroyed —St. Asaph Cathedral amongst them; bishops' houses, monasteries, and others that he spared suffered later on by the martial retaliations provoked by his outbreak. At length, deserted by his followers, he died alone like an eagle in the mountain of Snowdon.

In 1460, after the defeat of Henry VI. and his Lancastrians at Northampton, his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, sought refuge at Harlech Castle, held for the King by a brave knight, Dafydd ap Iefan ap Einion, whose name is nearly as long as was his stature. You know well the grand Welsh song, "March of the Men of Harlech."

This is said to have been chanted by a Welsh bard in memory of the siege of Harlech by Edward IV., who strove in vain to capture it from this gallant Welshman. In 1475 another gentleman with a long name, Reinalt ap Gruffydd ap Bleddyn, accomplished a remarkable exploit. He lived in a border tower near Mold, in Flintshire, and had a long-standing quarrel with the citizens of Chester. He seized their Mayor at a fair and hanged him in his hall. The Cestrians determined to avenge this outrage. They attacked his tower, found their way in, but found it empty. They tried to get out, but the doors were bolted fast. Soon the building was in a blaze, fired by the hand of the crafty Reinalt, and all the poor citizens perished.

On the accession of Edward IV. a fierce fight took place between the royal forces under the Earl of Pembroke and the Welshmen, who remained faithful to the Lancastrian house, under Jevan ap Roberts, at Nant Gwynant, near Capel Curig.

Henry VII., grandson of Owen Tudor, was born at Pembroke, and was a favourite amongst the Welsh people. Before his accession to the throne, and ere Bosworth Field was fought, he lay hid at Mostyn Hall, in Flintshire, the residence of Richard ap Howel, and was nearly captured by Richard III. You can see in the old hall the King's Window, by which Henry effected his escape. On his way to Bosworth the future King sojourned at Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, the house of a gallant knight, Sir Rhys ap Thomas. It was in Wales that plans were devised and arrangements made for that famous struggle which caused the death of the Hunchback, and the advent of the Tudor dynasty.

We must pass over the sad scenes of desolation wrought in beautiful Wales by the spoliation of monasteries and churches in the reign of Henry VIII. Another chapter will tell this melancholy story of robbery and violence. Again war was heard in the land when King

and Commonwealth were engaged in a deadly conflict. Loyal to the King beat the heart of Wales. Extraordinary exertions were made by the gallant people on behalf of Charles I. There were no divisions in Wales. Every castle was placed in defence and held for the King, and gallantly did they hold out until the royal cause was lost. Denbigh was held by Colonel William Salesbury, Flint by Sir Roger Mostyn, Aberystwyth by Thomas Bushell, a noted royalist, who worked the silver mines on his estate, coined his own money, raised a regiment for the King, and advanced large sums for the royal cause. The royal standard also waved over the castles of Chirk, Conway, Beaumaris, and a neighbouring fort, Ruthin, Rhuddlan, Carnarvon, Harlech, Cardigan, Newcastle Emlyn, and Cardiff. Their fate was very similar. All were in turn, after a gallant defence, forced to yield, and were slighted and destroyed, and reduced to ruins, over which Time has spread its softening hand, clothed them with ivy, and turned them into picturesque objects, wherein tourists picnic, ignorant of the story of their former greatness.

Once again the war-notes sounded, but it was a very feeble blast. At Fishguard, during the time of the first French Revolution, in 1797, 1400 Frenchmen landed near Fishguard, at Llanwrda, to conquer England. It was a foolish attempt. Frightened by the sight of a number of Welsh women dressed in their red cloaks, and mistaking them for soldiers, they yielded to a small force of local militia, led by Lord Cawdor, and the invasion of England was at an end. It is to be hoped that any future invasion will end in the same simple fashion.

In this brief summary of Welsh history we have only attempted to record the more striking events that have occurred in the national annals. Wales still retains its language, its customs, and the national characteristics of its race. It is still a nation of fighters, as the annals of the gallant Royal Welsh Fusiliers and the South Wales Borderers abundantly show. The "Nanny Goats," so

named after their regimental pet, who eat leeks on St. David's Day and drink to the immortal memory of Toby Purcell, Major of the regiment when it was first raised, killed at the battle of the Boyne, and the "Howard's Greens" or "Bengal Tigers," nicknames of the South Wales Borderers, have distinguished themselves on many a battle-field; and the Welsh still chant the war-songs of their ancestors which the bards sang in Llewelyn's hall and stirred their hearts to gallant deeds in the brave days of old.

THE CHURCH OF NORTH WALES

By Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, D.D.

THE history of the introduction of Christianity into Britain is involved in obscurity, but imagination has run riot in accounting for its presence in these islands, and a tissue of pretty idyls has gathered around certain personalities, like St. Paul and Joseph of Arimathea. These legends, while doing credit to the devout feeling, exuberant fancy, and power of invention of the mediæval mind, are of very doubtful authenticity. Quitting, therefore, the misty region of conjecture, we step down to the firmer ground of historic fact.

There can be little room for doubt that the organisation of the Roman Empire bore a principal part in establishing originally, and afterwards furthering, the progress of the Christian Faith in Britain. Indeed, as a German writer has remarked, the Empire was the third foundation stone of the Christian religion. The reasons are not obscure. A network of military roads extended from one end of the known world to the other, linking together distant provinces of the Roman dominions. The Roman power also impressed itself deeply on the thought of the nations included in the range of the Empire, by the material splendour of Roman colonies and cities, and by the very majesty of the name of Rome.

The Roman legions furnished contingents to the army of the Cross. When the Imperial generals, after the conquest of Gaul, turned their arms against Britain, and again at a later period began to organise and to consolidate their fresh acquisitions, they were unconsciously

advancing the religion of the Galilean. Thus it is possible that Christian missionaries following in the wake of the legion, or Christians among the legionaries themselves, were instrumental in spreading the good tidings. Meanwhile, it should be borne in mind that the profession of arms possessed a fascination for the manhood of the Celtic race. Many youths of British blood enlisted in the Roman ranks, and threw in their lot with at least one aspirant to the Imperial purple. Sir Samuel Ferguson does not draw altogether upon his imagination when he conceives a British centurion present at the Crucifixion:

> "And they say Centurion Altus, when he to Emania came,
> And to Rome's subjection called us, urging Cæsar's tribute claim,
> Told that half the world barbarian thrills already with the faith,
> Taught them by the God-like Syrian, Cæsar lately put to death." [1]

St. Jerome speaks of a Scottish Legion in his day, which was renowned for its bravery, and adds that this quality of theirs was popularly attributed to their habit of feeding on human flesh. Inscriptions in Hungary, Italy, Asia Minor, and North Africa, all Roman possessions at that period, show how far afield British cohorts had travelled. It is difficult therefore to escape the conclusion that the warriors of a race, so impressionable, so intelligent, and so enterprising, must have served as intermediaries for the extension of the religion of the Cross.

The presence of foreign merchants suggests another avenue by which Christianity penetrated into this part of Britain. It need not be supposed, indeed, that these early efforts were anything more than individual, sporadic, and tentative. Nay more, the progress of the Faith may have been, humanly speaking, due to the play of accident. But these nameless pioneers paved the way for further endeavours and for an organised movement. Admittedly slaves also, whether bought in the market or prisoners of war, in Britain, as in other countries, were an influential

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[1] *Lays of the Western Gael.*

factor in the spread of the Gospel. The centres of population were naturally the starting-points from which the New Light radiated. An old Roman station or town presented a guarantee of security, and the boon of a comparatively advanced civilisation, and so offered a nucleus for the formation of a church. The country peasants (*pagani*) were the last to be converted.

Troublous times, however, were in store for these small Christian communities; and the collapse of the Roman organisation involved in calamity the Christian missions in Britain. Hordes from the Northern Hive, as the North of Europe was called owing to the teeming populations with which it was overrun, burst their bonds of ice and snow, and swept, like a tempest into the fruitful cornfields and genial climate of the south. Rome was compelled to relax its hold on distant dependencies, and hurriedly to recall its troops to the rescue of a tottering Empire and a crumbling civilisation.

Britain, denuded of many of its natural protectors, who were serving under the Roman Eagles, soon fell a prey to internal disorder or to inroads of barbarian Picts and Scots. The chaos that ensued bade fair to undo the work of centuries, and to stamp out every vestige of culture. Amid these intestine convulsions the Church alone formed a bond of unity. The use of the term Church at this stage, as implying an organised body, is perhaps premature, but such an organisation was gradually taking shape on the lines of the monastic system.

The monastic houses provided points of crystallisation. Dating from the third century, and starting from the Valley of the Nile, the monastic ideal traversed Europe, and ultimately reached Wales and Ireland, where it found congenial soil and quickly took root. Islands offered various advantages to the solitary, and were frequently chosen for the sites of religious brotherhoods. One of the first positions occupied in Europe was Lerins, off the coast of Gaul. The establishment gradually attracted

a number of inmates within its walls, enjoyed a wide reputation for piety and learning, and became the nursery of many a Celtic saint. In Wales and Ireland the tradition of choosing island monasteries seems to have rapidly found favour. The island home promised security from violence, and tranquillity for the prosecution of their self-imposed tasks; namely, studying, copying and illuminating manuscripts, relieving the poor, tending the sick, entertaining the stranger, as well as freedom from the cares and vanities of the world.

So far as North Wales is concerned, traces of monastic houses of the Celtic period exist at various points on the coast of Anglesey. Ynys Seiriol (Seiriol's Island), now familiar to the tourist by the name of Puffin Island, was the burial-place of the monks of the Monastery of Penmon. St. Tudwal's Island was another sacred spot. Most famous of all was Ynys Enlli, the Island in the Current, now known as Bardsey (or Bard's Island), the Holy Isle of Wales—which summons up to the mind a host of historic and hallowed associations. The origin of this monastic institution goes back to the sixth century. Einion, King of Lleyn, so runs the tradition, bestowed the island on St. Cadvan, the son of the Breton Eneas Lydewig and Gwenteirbron, who established a brotherhood there and became its first bishop. The fame of its founder's sanctity, and the tranquillity of the spot, combined to attract comers from all parts. Both the island itself and the whole neighbourhood, notably the adjoining promontory of Lleyn, are studded with remains in the shape of shrines and holy wells, attesting the frequent pilgrimages thither, and the popularity of the resort.

Opposite the island is St. Mary's Well. A short distance away stands a farmhouse, which, in the island's palmy days, was the ancient hospice and halting-place for visitors previous to being ferried over the sound. In return for the hospitality and attentions shown to the devotees, taxes were remitted, and the house enjoys a similar privilege

to this day. The mediæval poets were evidently impressed with the place, and often sang its praises. For them it is the land of indulgences, absolution and peace, the road to heaven, and the gate of paradise. Such is Meilir's conviction, a bard of the twelfth century, in his poem, the "Bard's Deathbed." In common with other Celtic bards, he wishes his resting-place to be

> "A solitude, by passengers not trodden,
> And around its walls the bosom of the briny sea;
> The fair isle of Mary;
> The holy isle of saints,
> The type of renovation,
> There to rest in happiness."

Three pilgrimages to the island counted as one to Rome, and Bardsey came to be known as the Rome of Britain.

This resort furnishes a striking illustration of the desire on the part of kings, princes, and other notabilities to share the burial-place of the saints, hoping thereby to shine by reflected glory or to profit by their orisons. Owen Gwynedd directed that he should be interred in Ynys Seiriol, to which allusion has already been made. But, compared with the island of Bardsey, the rest paled into insignificance. Here the bones of 20,000 saints were said to repose; some as eminent in the Church Calendar as Dyfrig and Deiniol, in the sixth century, and Saint Beuno in the seventh.

A halo of sanctity and a spirit of romance continued to cling to the place as late as the end of the eighteenth century, and linger still around the spot. Pennant, writing in 1781, describes the scene and records his impressions:

"The mariners seemed tinctured with the piety of the place: for they had not rowed far, but they made a full stop, pulled off their hats, and offered up a short prayer. After doubling a headland, the island appears full in view: we passed under the lofty mountains which form one side.

After doubling the farther end, we put into a little sandy creek, bounded by low rocks, as is the whole level part. On landing, I found all this tract a very fertile plain, and well cultivated, and productive of everything which the mainland affords. The abbot's house is a large stone building, inhabited by several of the natives: not far from it is a singular chapel, or oratory, being a long arched edifice, with an isolated stone altar near the east end."

The presence of a cloud of saints, living and dead, is a sufficient explanation of the hold that the place possessed on the popular imagination, but probably another cause co-operated to that end. The Celtic saints, whether in Brittany, Wales, or Ireland, appear to have inherited an idea that widely prevailed among the earlier stratum of population. The spirit-land was believed to lie beyond the waters of the west. It is more than likely that the disappearance of the setting sun below the rim of the ocean and the accompanying blaze of glory, either gave rise to or deepened the conviction. To that unknown, mysterious land they hoped to pass, when their life's task was over. As death approached, they hastened to some island that commanded the view of the setting sun, to enjoy in anticipation the vision of perpetual peace. There the fishermen of Galway and Clare to this day place the abode of the blest, which they declare they can sometimes dimly descry.

The genius of Celtic monasticism possessed features of its own. Its chief characteristic lay in connection between the monastic institution and the tribe, which resulted from the social conditions of the age. This principle appears to have operated in Druidical times, and may have been adopted by these early Christian communities. Briefly stated, it was due to the need of provision for the younger sons of a family. An obligation rested on the tribal chief to furnish every man in his tribe with a farm consisting of arable land, pasture, and woodland. The growth of the tribe aggravated the difficulty of meeting the claims, and

the only relief afforded was by migration, tribal warfare, and compulsory celibacy. It is easy to see how such a system would lend an impulse to the monastic movement, and swell the number of religious houses.

Of the twenty monasteries in Wales, several belonged to the North. Cor Seiriol, in Penmon, Anglesey, and Cor Enlli, or Bardsey, have been already mentioned. Other houses appear at Trallwng (or Welshpool), Llanelwy (or St. Asaph), Caergybi (or Holyhead), and Clynnog, in Carnarvonshire.

Special interest attaches to two communities in North Wales, both bearing the same name.

The first is Bangor-is-y-coed, or the White Choir under the Wood. The term *Cor*, from the Latin *chorus*, denoted a settlement or band of itinerant bishops or monks. A missionary centre claimed precedence over the others which lay within its influence, and assumed the title of Bangor or High Choir. The same appellation, needless to remark, is to be found in Ireland. A melancholy interest and pathetic memories cling to this once famous seat of learning and sanctity, Bangor-is-y-coed, otherwise called Bangor in Maelor, or Bangor Dunawd, but hardly a fragment remains of the monastery's greatness.

The foundation of the institution dates from the sixth century, and is connected with the fate of the sons of King Urien of Rheged, or Moray, in North Britain. Hard pressed by the Picts, this prince appealed to his kinsman Dunawd, a chief in North Britain, for assistance; but in vain. Dunawd enjoyed a reputation for bravery, and is described in the Triads as one of the three pillars of his country. He himself had a chequered history. Allowing self-interest to override the dictates of patriotism and kinship, he joined forces with the enemy. It was not long before he paid the penalty of his treachery. His new allies requited his services by driving him from his throne, and he fled to North Wales, where he embraced the ecclesiastical state, exchanged the sword for the cowl,

and with the aid of King Cyngen established the monastery on the river Dee. There he redeemed his perfidy by acts of penance and piety. The house soon attained to great popularity. Renowned as a centre of enlightenment, it was no less distinguished for its patriotism. Bede[1] describes the brethren's mode of life. Some of the inmates studied theology or devoted themselves to the pursuit of medicine and herbs; others to the arts; a third class to languages; a fourth to manual labour, agriculture, and forestry. So large was their number that they were divided into seven parties, consisting of 300 each. But they were not destined to continue their peaceful employments for long, and their end came suddenly. The story of the fall of this great house at the battle of Chester in 607 has often been told. Some of the accounts that have come down to us are doubtless coloured by racial prejudice and religious rancour, but all contain evidence of the barbarous manners of the times and the intensity of the hatred between Celt and Saxon. In 607, Ethelfrid collected men and arms to engage the Welsh. Marching to Caerlleon Gawr (Chester), he arrived to find Brochfael Ysgythrog awaiting him with a small force. The Welshmen were a mere handful, one to twelve of the enemy. Brochfael, observing the disparity of strength, offered to come to terms, but was refused. The tiny band then retreated towards Bangor-is-y-coed; here they were met by the monks, who, after a three days' fast, had apparently come to offer up their prayers for the success of the Welsh army or to turn away the wrath of the invader. Noticing a crowd of men standing apart, the pagan king inquired who they were, and on learning that they were the priests of the Most High, come to encourage their countrymen, he flew into a passion, and in his rage ordered his troops to charge them. Twelve hundred fell victims to his fury, only 150 escaping to tell the tale.

[1] *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. 3.

Bangor came to an end for ever, and only a few stones remain to mark the scene of so much pious devotion and intellectual activity.

To the Welsh chroniclers the massacre of these inoffensive men was the saddest feature in the common calamity. The name of St. Augustine has been dragged into the episode. He has been accused of inciting the Saxon to avenge the slights offered to his person, but the truth is that Augustine had been three years in his grave.

The spirit of the survivors of this disaster was not crushed. Chased away by the heathen Saxon from their home, they took refuge with the community which had been established by Deiniol Wyn, a descendant of the founder of their original home on the Dee ; this worthy had already settled in Arvon. Under the patronage of Caswallon Longhand, he acquired land for the prosecution of his meritorious mission. His first care was to erect a monastery. Through his persistent efforts arose the stately house of Great Bangor in Britannia ; a title bestowed upon it by way of distinction from the Bangor across the Irish Channel. The tradition, order, and discipline of the older house at Bangor-is-y-coed were revived. Bangor Deiniol enjoyed certain prerogatives. A signal proof of the importance and prestige of the house is that to the custody of this community, in conjunction with the monks of Beuno, at Clynnog, in Eifionydd, the Code of Hywel Dda entrusted the Fourteen Civil Privileges of the Men of Arvon.

The appearance of Pelagianism in Britain marks an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of these islands. The account of Pelagius' association with Wales has been commonly accepted ; and the Welsh names for the heretic and his sect, Morgan, Morganiaid, and Morganiaeth, bear witness to the supposed connection with this country. But there are weighty reasons for surrendering this popular belief. The probability is that Pelagius was an Irishman. Ireland, as is well known, was the birthplace

of many a bold thinker, and Irishmen at that early period signalised themselves by the daring originality of their views and by their dialectical skill.

Whatever may have been his origin, Pelagius's uncatholic opinions of the power and perfectibility of unaided human nature brought him into sharp conflict with the Church, though it is questionable whether his opinions were rightly represented. Never a very active propagandist himself, he disseminated his doctrines by attaching to his cause Celestius, a Scottish (*i.e.* Irish) monk. At one time he enjoyed the friendship of that hot-tempered scholar and saint, Jerome. He spent a part of his life in Palestine and North Africa. The Bishop of Rome paid him the formidable compliment of an arraignment for heresy, and a Council sat in judgment on him. The particulars of his trial on this charge are on record, and Welsh writers have dwelt upon it in detail. After his condemnation he himself disappeared from view, but his school lived on.

Apart from the theological bearing and significance of Pelagianism, the heresy is especially interesting because of the measures taken to uproot it or to check its growth in Wales, and the close relations effected in consequence between the Churches of Britain and Gaul.

Pelagius's disciples carried their master's theories much further, and the Christians of Britain, bewildered by theological theories, ill instructed, and no match for the clever disputants on the other side, turned to the sister Church in Gaul, their kinsmen in blood and language, and their brethren in the Faith. Apparently the request for assistance was repeated before they obtained their object. Ultimately the Gallican Church commissioned Saint Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, to render the desired aid.

The influence that these two emissaries exerted on the imagination of the Welsh is attested in a variety of ways ; for instance, by the circumstance that two churches in the diocese of Bangor and five in that of St. Asaph are

dedicated to Garman. The legitimate inference is that this part of the country was specially favoured with his presence. The name of his companion Lupus, in its Welsh form Bleiddian, appears in Pont Bleiddian near Mold, and in the parishes Llanfleiddian Fawr and Llanfleiddian Fach (St. Bleiddian the Greater and St. Bleiddian the Less), in the county of Glamorganshire. At Llynclys in Shropshire, close to the Welsh border, a curious legend attaches to the sojourn of the two visitors. The story runs as follows:—During their tour the saints came to a castle occupied by a lawless lord, who received them with scant courtesy, and refused them hospitality. The churl, however, paid the penalty of his impiety. Next morning, the neighbours awoke to find him and the castle gone. Nature, resenting the indignity offered to the sacred persons of the saints, had avenged them. The earth had opened, and had swallowed the proprietor and his household. A lake occupied the site. The legend is in many ways interesting. It belongs to a not uncommon class invented to account for a name—in this name Llynclys, which is brought into connection with the Welsh words, *llyncu*, to "swallow," and *llys*, a "palace." But it possesses yet other instructive features. The truth is, however, that such lake legends are found in both hemispheres—in Ireland as in India.

The most striking achievement of German and Lupus, if the account be true, was the Alleluia Victory, which has been placed in North Wales. Usher is a voucher for the historical event, but the scene of the battle rests largely on conjecture. The year 427 saw the Picts and Saxons carry fire and sword throughout the country now known as Flintshire. Dispirited by their unequal numbers, the native Britons viewed the prospect with gloomy misgivings. The arrival of St. German and St. Bleiddian instilled fresh courage into them. Many of them were unbaptized. It may be conjectured that this was due to the denial of the necessity of baptism by the

Pelagians, and the dread of committing sin after receiving the rite. Be the cause what it may, the new arrivals proceeded to remedy the defect, and pointed out the heinousness of the offence. The whole army presented themselves for the ordinance, and the common people followed their example. This difficulty having been satisfactorily overcome, German, himself an old soldier, put himself at the head of the British troop, and, turning his previous experience in military matters to good account, proved himself no mean strategist. Posting his men in ambush, he awaited calmly the advance of the foe. As soon as the invaders were entangled in the defile he gave the signal for the shout, "Alleluia!" thrice repeated. The cry, re-echoed by the neighbouring hills, struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, and the appearance of unlooked-for adversaries completed their discomfiture. They fled pell-mell, and were swallowed up by the neighbouring river Alun, which happened to be in flood. Tradition has fixed the scene of this battle at Maes Garmon (Germanus's field), and a place-name Ffynnon y Gwaed (the Well of Blood), not far distant, may be a reminiscence and lend colour to the belief.

Germanus and Lupus stayed two years in Britain, and then returned to Gaul; but their help was again needed owing to the recrudescence of the Pelagian heresy, which, it was hoped, had been stamped out. Germanus' aid was again called into requisition. This time he was accompanied by Severus, Archbishop of Treves. His second expedition dealt Pelagianism a blow from which it never rallied.

The services rendered by these emissaries of the Gallican Church were not confined to uprooting heresy, but also placed the British Church on a firmer footing, by furnishing it with the means of repelling assaults on the Faith without external assistance. First of all, they directed their attention to raising the standard of education, and, with a view to this end, established schools.

The Gallic monasteries had long been celebrated centres of learning. Meanwhile, in Britain, owing to a combination of causes, learning had sunk to a low ebb. The consequent inability on the part of native theologians to cope with these disturbers of the peace of Christendom, had impressed the representatives of the sister Church with the urgent need of better educational facilities at home. Accordingly, Germanus and his associates bent their energies to the task of organisation. With the aid of petty princes and magnates, they were instrumental in laying the foundations of a national system of education, for the special object of preparing the native youth for the priesthood.

St. Germanus is credited with another momentous change, which redounded to the benefit of the Church in Wales. Hitherto the work of evangelisation had been carried on from certain centres. Religious houses ministered to the spiritual needs of neighbouring districts. Bishops were itinerant, but lived in communities. Germanus inaugurated a new era. The Church in Gaul was better organised, and the beginnings of a parochial system were visible there. Antecedently, it might be conjectured that Germanus and Lupus would in Britain advise the adoption of the course which had been attended by so much success in their own country. The surmise derives colour from the circumstance that the dedication of churches to St. Germanus are among the earliest to be found in the annals of the Church in Britain. It does not follow that the older method of working from centres was entirely abrogated or superseded.

Among the tokens of a more settled form of administration now coming into existence was the gradual growth of episcopacy. As early as 569, there were probably a large number of bishops in Wales without dioceses. It was in that year that the see of Caerleon, which was the first bishopric in Wales and coincided with the Roman administrative province Britannia Secunda, was subdivided

into St. David's, Llanbadarn, and Llandaff. A suffragan bishop was appointed for each tribal division, possessing, however, no place of residence. Such was Tudwal in Carnarvonshire. These, however, never attained to the same importance as the two sees of Bangor and St. Asaph.

The title of an Archbishopric has been claimed by Bangor, but with no more justification than by the see of St. David's. Such pretensions were dictated by personal arrogance or controversial zeal. It was originally founded as a choir of monks, or a *chorepiscopi*, about the year 525, by Deiniol Wyn, a descendant of Pabo Post Prydain, whose monument is still to be seen at Llanbabo in Anglesey.

Twenty-five years after the formation of the choir, Bangor was raised to the position of a bishopric. Very little, however, is known either of its early history or of the extent of its jurisdiction. Roughly speaking, it may be said to have been coterminous with the Principality of Gwynedd. Under the fostering care and protection of the princes of North Wales, the see gradually acquired importance, and some of its bishops figure prominently in Welsh annals. Among them special interest attaches to Mordaf, who ruled the diocese in the tenth century. He is mentioned among the clergy who are said to have accompanied Hywel Dda and the princes of Wales on their expedition to Rome, to obtain the approval of Pope Anastasius for the new code of laws.

The prelates, however, were not all men of this type. Madog Min, or the Fox, in the eleventh century, enjoyed an unenviable reputation. Together with the sons of Edwyn ab Einion, he concerted a plot against Llewelyn ab Seisyll, King of Powis, Deheubarth, and Gwynedd, whose reign had been marked by justice, moderation, and discretion, and had redounded to the benefit of his subjects. Madog's designs did not end there. Unwearied in his relentless persecution of the ill-fated family, he proceeded

to conspire against the life of Llewelyn's son Gruffith, and succeeded in compassing his destruction also. As the price of blood, Harold, King of the Saxons, had promised him three hundred head of cattle, but retribution dogged his steps, and he met a traitor's fate. Repudiated by his patron, refused payment of the reward agreed upon, and execrated by his own people, Madog fled to Ireland, only to be drowned at sea.

Llanelwy, or St. Asaph, as it is now called, the other see in North Wales, also owed its origin to a refugee from North Britain—St. Kentigern. His birth and childhood are shrouded in mystery, but legend has been busy with his name. Under the guardianship of Saint Serf, he was conspicuous for his good nature, which earned him the title of Mwyngu, "dearly beloved," or, in its modernised form, Mungo. Driven away by Morcant, King of Strathclyde, Kentigern sought asylum for a while in Menevia. Afterwards invited by Caswallon Lawhir (Caswallon of the Long Hand), the saint settled in North Wales, and established on the banks of the Elwy the monastery and see of Llanelwy. But Kentigern was not destined to remain long in his new abode. Since his departure from the north, events had followed each other in rapid succession. Fortune had inclined towards his former friends. Morcant had been worsted in 573 by Rhydderch Hael. Mindful of Kentigern's services, the conqueror invited him to return to watch over his flock. The appeal was not made in vain—Kentigern consented. Committing his see to the care of a disciple, named Asaph, he returned to his native land, and resumed charge of the work that he had begun. He left a fitting memorial of himself in the form of a church at Glasgow, which stood on the site of the present cathedral. His tomb is shown in the crypt. His successor at Llanelwy was no less eminent for virtue and piety. His influence is commemorated in the names of several parishes and places in the neighbourhood, Llanasa (Asaph's church), Pant Asa (Asaph's

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hollow), and Onen Asa (Asaph's ash). The see still bears his name.

Of the long line of bishops, few names have emerged from obscurity. One of them, Cebur, formed one of Hywel Dda's retinue on the occasion of his visit to Rome. The obscurity of the occupants of the episcopal throne was apparently matched by the meanness of their surroundings. That courtly chronicler and indefatigable intriguer, Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald the Welshman), when he escorted Archbishop Baldwin on his tour through Wales (an enterprise undertaken with the twofold purpose of preaching the Crusade and cementing the relations between the Welsh Church and Canterbury), carried away a poor impression of the place. He dismisses it contemptuously with the comment, "a poor little church and a poor little see" (*paupercula ecclesia paupercula cathedra*). But if the environment was outwardly unimposing, and its annals unexciting, the history of St. Asaph is redeemed from ingloriousness by the circumstance that it was the last of the Welsh sees to surrender its rights and privileges to Canterbury.

The mention of Canterbury introduces us to the preliminary attempts to effect an union between the two branches of the Christian Church in Britain. This new departure practically marks the opening of a second era in the history of British Christendom. The fusion of the Saxon and British types of Christianity was accomplished in the twelfth century. A reference must be here made to the overtures of St. Augustine. Soon after his arrival on the shore of Britain, probably in 603, the emissary of Pope Gregory sought an interview with the bishops already in possession, nominally for the purpose of composing certain doctrinal differences, but in reality to secure their adhesion to the Roman system and their ultimate subjection to the see of Rome. The place of meeting is involved in some uncertainty, but tradition points to Austcliffe, on the banks of the Severn, whence

travellers were ferried over the river into Wales. Bede, who is our authority for the transaction, supplies a vivid description of the two conferences that followed. Both turned upon the question of the observance of Easter, the form of the tonsure, and co-operation in evangelising the Saxon. Seven bishops responded to the invitation. Accompanied by Dunawd, Abbot of Bangor-is-y-coed, and other ecclesiastics, the British representatives presented themselves at the appointed rendezvous. Augustine opened the proceedings with a speech couched in conciliatory language. He urged the necessity of cultivating unity, of promoting concord, and the duty of bringing over the heathen Saxons to the Faith. His words evoked little enthusiasm and touched no responsive chord. The sense of wrong and of the barbarities inflicted on the Welsh had sunk too deep to be easily obliterated. "How!" exclaimed the opposite party, "can we preach to the cruel nations who have robbed us of our inheritance, driven us from our hearth and home, and destroyed our churches?" The negotiations failed for the time being, but Augustine's expedients were not exhausted. He proposed a trial of skill in performing miracles. "Let a sick man be brought hither, and let the faith and practice of those by whose prayers he is healed be considered acceptable unto God and be followed by all." The British deputation complied, but with reluctance. A blind man was produced, and, in answer to Augustine's prayers, received his sight. Awed by this evidence of the Divine sanction, the Britons agreed to a second conference, but significantly added that they could not without the acquiescence and leave of the people depart from the customs of their forefathers. It is stated, but on late authority, that the names of the bishops present at a second meeting were as follows:—The Bishops of Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, Elwy, Wig, and Bishop Padarn.

A story has been handed down in connection with

the deliberations of this august assembly which illustrates the prevailing temper on both sides. On their way, the British party passed a hermit's abode, who inquired the object of their journey. "We are going to meet the monk Augustine, who has been sent by the so-called Pope of Rome to preach to the Saxons," was the reply: "He wants us to obey him and to accept the same ceremonies and articles of belief as are in vogue in the Church of Rome. What, pray, is your view on the matter? Shall we obey him or not?" The anchorite's answer chimed with their own opinion. "If he has been sent by God, obey him." "But how," they rejoined, "shall we know whether he comes from God or not?" "Thus: consider the words of the Saviour, 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart.' So, if Augustine is humble, gentle, and poor in spirit, listen to him; if not, refrain; have no dealings with him." "But how can we know whether he is proud or humble?" "Easily enough; proceed slowly and deliberately, giving Augustine time to arrive at the place before you and to sit in his chair. Now," continued the man of God, "he is there unattended. From what I hear, there are on your side seven bishops, besides various other learned men. Unless, therefore, Augustine rises from his chair to greet you, conclude that he is proud; yield him no obedience."

The old man's counsel was applauded, and his guidance hailed as providential. His warning was not ill-timed. They arrived to find Augustine seated in Roman fashion, little knowing how much depended on this incident. This settled the matter. It was in vain that Augustine tried to re-open negotiations on the three points at issue, and ended with an appeal for co-operation. The bishops were obdurate. They would neither agree to his proposals nor admit his archiepiscopal authority. "For," they said, "if he does not condescend to rise from his chair and greet us now, what are we to expect if we bow to his will?" Negotiations were broken off

and they parted in high dudgeon. Least of all could the Pope's emissary conceal his displeasure ; as he left the scene he levelled at them, as a Parthian shot, expressions which were differently interpreted according to the sympathies or prepossessions of the hearer. Bede considered them an augury of Divine vengeance. Partisans of the Welsh were not slow to charge Augustine with inciting Ethelfrid and his Saxons to slaughter the monks of Bangor-is-y-coed. For this accusation, however, as already observed, there is no warrant. The overtures had failed, but the gradual absorption of the British Church was only a matter of time. The close of the Paschal "Schism," in A.D. 809, or, in other words, the arrival at an agreement respecting the observance of Easter, marked a turning-point in the protracted discussion on the subject of canonical obedience to Canterbury ; and the two Churches were finally amalgamated at the conquest of Wales in 1284.

This event was brought about in a large measure by the spread of the Latin Religious Orders, who, up to the time of the Reformation, bore a prominent part in the religious life of Wales, and left a deep impression on the surface of the country, as is indicated by the ruins of their ecclesiastical establishments which still stud the surface of the country. The first to arrive were the Benedictines. The history of the rise of this striking movement, their commencement at Monte Cassino, near Naples, about 529 (still the metropolis of the Benedictine name), and the rapidity with which they spread northward, are too well known to need illustration. Suffice it to say that the Order of St. Benedict became one of the main agents in the diffusion of letters and civilisation in the West. Compared with the Eastern ascetics and the Celtic, who have been already mentioned, they observed a mild rule, their vows consisting of implicit obedience, surrender of private property, the exercise of hospitality and habits of industry. The leading principle of the system was the cultivation of

retirement. The days were evil, the world was tottering to its ruin, and the fires of judgment were visible through the chinks. The monk's chief desire was to be quit of the world, to spend his days free from defilement in his daily work and from distraction in his daily worship. Living in communion and harmony with Nature, he devoted himself to reclaiming the wilderness, to regular and continuous prayer and psalmody, and to ministering to the poor ; or, if he had a turn for literary pursuits, gave himself up to the decipherment, transcription, and illumination of manuscripts, or to the composition of artless chronicles and annals. Seldom did the disciple of St. Benedict emerge from his retreat, and that only on some particular inspiration or a sovereign command. Such was the primary idea, the discriminating badge, the unostentatious and unexacting life of this Order.

In Wales their foundations lay chiefly in the South; but the Order was not unrepresented in the North. A flourishing house existed in Penmon in Anglesey, which was established by the aid of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. The Benedictines differed in one important respect from the mendicant Orders, which made their way into Wales through Norman influence. The former placed themselves under episcopal authority ; the latter owed allegiance only to the Pope, and in the course of their peregrinations did not scruple to undermine the influence of the secular clergy or parish priests.

Unlike the Benedictines, the Dominicans were the creatures of the Middle Age, called into being to meet a special emergency. The champions of orthodoxy, they have remained true to their original vocation. This Order was also represented in Wales. Within six years after the Pope confirmed the establishment of the Order, in 1216, they had spread to England, and founded a house at Oxford, where their special gifts soon obtained scope. It was not long before they obtained a footing in Wales, and probably found congenial soil and room for their

controversial activities. Two of their houses appear in the North—one at Bangor, on the site of the Old Friars' Grammar School, and another at Rhuddlan, where the traces of their buildings are still visible.

The Augustinians were another Order which extended their influence under the ægis of the Norman princes. They are otherwise popularly known as the Grey Friars, from the colour of their habit. To them belonged the oldest foundation connected with this alien monastic movement in the Principality, namely that of Beddgelert. Bardsey, it will be remembered, was of Celtic origin, and belonged to a much earlier period. The choice of Beddgelert for the establishment of a religious house betokens the original motive, and affords an excellent illustration of the love of Nature that characterised the monk. A retired nook, amid the sublimest scenery imaginable, lying at the foot of the Snowdon, and hemmed in by other mountains inferior only to Snowdon, the valley of Beddgelert offered an ideal site for the home of the solitary. A charter is still extant relating to certain lands conferred on the community by Llewelyn the Great—a fact which takes us back to the end of the twelfth century. Llanfaes, near Beaumaris, in Anglesey, was another of their foundations in North Wales. But neither did the antiquity of the Order inspire confidence in their neighbours, nor did the tranquillity of their home ensure peace. Judging by the Welsh Triads, they were the least popular of all the Orders. "There are three things of which the less heard the better, a sow's squeal on the wind, an old witch's snarl, and a Grey Friar's sermon." Another of these sayings ran: "Woe betide the man who falls into the clutches of a Greyfriar confessor, a moneylender, and a morose landlord."

Very different were the feelings entertained towards the Cistercians, or White Friars, an offshoot of the Benedictines, nurtured on French soil. This Order claimed the largest number of adherents in Wales. Planting

themselves first at Trefgarn in Pembrokeshire in 1143, they spread to Cwm Hir, a beautiful glen in Radnorshire, and thence to Cymmer in Merioneth. This Order left a deeper impression on Wales than any other. So rapidly did they extend their influence, that as early as 1155 they were powerful enough to effect a change in the fashion of church dedication. It was a rule of their Order to dedicate their houses to the Virgin, and wherever they settled, not only did they adhere to the practice but even succeeded in altering the dedication of a previously consecrated church. Of this usage we have an interesting proof at Meifod in Montgomeryshire—but this is by no means an isolated instance. If the range of their operations and the number of their foundations be borne in mind, such as Aberconwy, Clynnog Fawr, Valle-crucis, Basingwerk, and Ystrad Marchell, it becomes easy to account for the prevalence of dedications to the Virgin.

Unquestionably Wales benefited by these settlements. Many waste lands were reclaimed by the communities, and agriculture was one of their chief employments. The friars drove a thriving trade in field produce, and are declared to have been the best farmers of their time. It was to the Cistercians also that Wales owned some of its most stately buildings. Precluded from the enjoyment of personal property, they spared no effort nor expense in erecting fine buildings, making up for their individual poverty by the splendour of their houses and churches. Their labours were seconded and their ambitious designs rendered feasible by the munificence of princely benefactors. In North Wales the graceful proportions of the ruined Abbey of Mynachlog-y-Glyn or Valle-crucis, and the Church at Clynnog remain to this day as evidence of the taste, the magnificence, and the architectural genius of the Cistercian community. But what mainly contributed to their rapid expansion, far-reaching influence, and popularity was their sympathy with the aspirations of the Welsh. They espoused the national cause, and threw in

their lot with the Welsh princes. It was within the walls of Ystrad Fflur (Strata Florida) that Llewelyn the Great convened the chieftains to determine upon measures for resisting the advance of Edward I. To the same abbey, and to those of Tintern, Margam, and Neath in the South, and Aberconwy, Clynnog, and Basingwerk in the North, was due the preservation of Welsh manuscripts, chronicles, and other monuments of antiquity. But the Cistercians had run their course. Various influences were at work to undermine them; indeed, the seeds of decay were inherent in themselves. Riches and indolence within conspired with attacks from without to bring about their ruin. And so they fell.

The Reformation was at the door. One of the first blows dealt by Henry VIII. was aimed at the monastic communities. The religious revolution did not take effect in Wales at once, but when it did, a complete change came over the country, from loyal adhesion to Catholic principles (in the true, wide sense of the term Catholic) to a somewhat sombre Protestantism. It is not too much to say that the Reformation movement took effect in Wales fifty years later than in England. Traces of Catholic practice exist to this day, and, though their origin has been generally forgotten or obscured, the survivals are readily recognisable. Even exotic legends died hard. Such was *Breuddwyd Mair*, which enjoyed a wide circulation, and was held in universal reverence down to the middle of the eighteenth century. To the same category belong the Gwyliau Mabsant or Patronal festivals, which had degenerated into occasions of licence, and were discountenanced or denounced by public authority.

Several marriage and funeral customs, peculiarities of ritual, obsolete expressions, like *frengrys* for surplice (literally, mass vestment), and other survivals, bear witness to the glamour that the poetry and cultured calm of the Church previous to the sixteenth century cast on the impressionable nature and lively sensibility of the

Celt. But if the Reformation made its way but slowly, the knell of the Papal domination had rung.

The monastic orders were the first to feel Henry's iron hand. Owing allegiance, as most of them did, to the Papal See, they were marked out for destruction, as a preliminary step towards snapping the bond that united the English kingdom to the Papacy, and to establishing a national Church with the King as its head. There lay the head and front of their offence; for the motley crew of commissioners, in their thirst for plunder, were forced to admit that the inmates of the larger monasteries were "regular, devout, and praiseworthy." But the admission was of no avail; nothing could stave off the evil hour.

The smaller institutions were the earliest victims. Those which possessed a revenue of £200 or less were the first doomed. Under this provision many of the Welsh houses were drawn into the net. Cymmer in Merioneth, Basingwerk and Valle-crucis, Llanfaes and Beddgelert succumbed. Their treasures were diverted to the royal coffers. Their lands and titles passed into the hands of lay impropriators as an inducement to zealous co-operation in the work of spoliation and demolition. No less disastrous, at any rate for the time being, were the social effects of the revolution that was in progress. Crowds of men and women were thrown upon the world without means of subsistence, for works of penance and mercy had gone hand in hand. Hitherto the poor had been dependent on the benevolence of the monastery. The monks were at once the physicians and the botanists of the age, as the Welsh name of many a plant shows; they afforded asylum to the destitute and the oppressed; and they threw their shield over the slave. Now all their ministrations of charity and errands of mercy came to an end. With their downfall also perished many libraries. A monastery was the focus of intellectual movement and a centre of intellectual illumination; but the books, annals, chronicles, and other

monuments of the artistic skill and diligence of the monks, were lost to Wales. A few, sold for bookbinding and similar purposes, crossed the sea; others were wantonly destroyed or scattered beyond recovery. Of the advantages accruing to religion from the Reformation movements, it is not necessary to speak; the accumulated experiences of three hundred years is sufficient testimony to its "beneficent" results. But the price paid was the sacrifice of much of the poetry and picturesqueness of life.

The Welsh bishops manifested only a languid interest in the progress of the Reformation in Wales, but their remissness or lukewarmness was compensated for by laymen, who threw themselves with energy and enthusiasm into the movement. They recognised that the best means of securing their object lay in bringing the Scriptures to the homes of the people, and this was possible only by providing copies in the vernacular. To this task they bent their energies. Three names, all connected with North Wales, stand out prominently among those who engaged in this charitable and public-spirited service. Alien in sentiment, and ignorant of the language, the bishops looked on idly without offering either help or sympathy.

During the reign of Edward VI., William Salesbury figured most conspicuously. The second son of Foulke Salesbury, and born at one of the family residences, Caedu, Llansannan, this first translator of the Bible was educated at Oxford, where he came under the influence of Jewel, the leader of the Protestant party at that University. In 1547 he migrated to London to study at the Bar. But the law did not claim his undivided attention. The Welsh language and literature possessed a fascination for his mind, and he published the results of his philological researches. The year 1547 witnessed the publication of his chief work, a dictionary in English and Welsh. His efforts in the direction of translating the Bible met with a check when Mary ascended the throne, but Salesbury's ardour was undiminished, and he is said to have

prosecuted his studies in a secret chamber at his ancestral home. The death of the Queen removed all obstacles, and he addressed himself to the task with a resolute heart and a devoted will.

Attempts in the same direction had been previously made. Sir John Price had rendered the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed into Welsh in 1546. It was reserved for Salesbury to translate the whole Bible into the vulgar tongue. Eventually he published portions of the Scriptures. As he stood practically alone, and worked single-handed, it would be strange if his version did not betray some imperfections. The Welsh occasionally presents an uncouth appearance, but it must be borne in mind that Salesbury was obliged in many cases to invent theological terms for himself. Efforts of this kind, however, were only individual and tentative. While countenancing the project, public authority only accorded it lukewarm support. The accession of Queen Elizabeth changed the aspect of affairs, and marked a momentous stride forward. In 1562–3, an Act of Parliament was passed commissioning the four Welsh bishops, with whom was associated the Bishop of Hereford, Welsh being widely spoken in that diocese, to find a translator. For a while, owing to want of funds, the enactment remained in abeyance. Ultimately Salesbury was induced to take the work in hand, and produced the first instalment. This time he was assisted by Bishop Richard Davies of St. David's. Huet, precentor of St. David's, is credited with the translation of the Book of Revelation. A Welsh version of the Common Prayer Book appeared about the same time.

Twenty-six years had meanwhile flown by since the issue of the royal order for the translation of the whole of the Bible, and before the hopes of the Welsh reformers were realised. It was through the pious labours and unflagging zeal of William Morgan that the plan came to fruition.

This worthy formed—at any rate from the literary

standpoint—the central figure of the new movement, and a few details regarding his life will throw light on the religious and social condition of Wales, and on the conflicting interests of this eventful period of transition.

Morgan's antecedents differed widely from those of Salesbury. The son of a small farmer in Penmachno, a remote district in the upper reaches of the beautiful Vale of Conway, he was born in 1541. Various circumstances concurred in moulding the character of the peasant farmer's son, who was destined to render so lasting service to his Church and country. Allusion has already been made to the slow progress of the Reformation in Wales, and more particularly in the sequestered parishes. If local tradition may be believed, Morgan's own family illustrates the tenacity with which the rural population clung to the old system. On a mountain overlooking Cwm Wybernant, near Morgan's native place, stones are still to be seen popularly called Meini Cred, on which devout souls used to trace with the finger the form of a cross. When the furrows carved for this purpose became mossgrown, it was a sure sign that the country was becoming prayerless and forsaking its God. William Morgan appears from childhood to have signalised himself among the peasantry of the countryside by this species of devotion. It is not strange, therefore, to find that his early education has been attributed to a monk, a relative of the family, who at the dissolution of the monasteries had taken refuge at Ty Mawr, the Morgan's homestead. There is no intrinsic improbability in the story. A monk could have found no hiding-place safer than this lonely glen, where the inhabitants were more attached to the old order than to the new. Moreover, it was stated that a secret door had been constructed by which the fugitive might make his escape. Under the visitor's tuition, Morgan became proficient in the study of languages, and his reputation for learning spread through the valley. The interest of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir was aroused.

He was puzzled to account for the lad's attainments. The squire being hostile to the Papists, the secret was withheld. Sir John Wynn, the well-known antiquary, intimates that Morgan pursued his studies at Gwydir. The explanation may well be, that, after the introduction above spoken of, the lad was taken under his patron's roof and there prepared for admission to the University.

In due course he entered Cambridge, which was then awaking from a long spell of intellectual torpor. St. John's, where Morgan was a sizar, enjoyed the highest reputation among the colleges; and before his departure (he remained several years), St. John's took a lead in a revival of letters.

The conditions in which Morgan studied were in one respect eminently favourable to the future translator of the Bible. Immanuel Tremellius, a Jewish convert, with a Continental reputation, and Antony Chevalier, a French Protestant, second only to Tremellius, had left their impress on the life of Cambridge. They were the best Hebraists of the age. Through the instrumentality of Sir John Coke, Greek also had won its way to recognition, as early as 1540. The religious atmosphere of his surrounding, or rather the personal influence of these teachers, did not fail to produce an effect on Morgan's mind. Whatever sentiments he may have held on admission to the University, he was on leaving certainly imbued with Protestant ideas.

The turning-point in Morgan's career was an introduction to William Hughes, Bishop of St. Asaph, when paying a visit to Cambridge. That prelate recognised the clerical student's fitness for carrying out the cherished scheme of translating the Bible, and made a proposal to that effect. The choice reflects credit on Hughes's insight. Combining a knowledge of Hebrew, a rare accomplishment in those days, with that of Greek, which was scarcely better known, Morgan possessed no mean qualifications for the undertaking.

To facilitate the work and to provide Morgan with a competence, Hughes presented his countryman with the living of Trallwng (Welshpool), a parish in his own diocese. This Morgan exchanged three years later for Llanrhaiadr yn Mochant, which has ever since been honourably associated with his name. Here he applied himself with earnestness to his laborious task. The difficulties that confronted him were not slight. Welsh preaching had long fallen into disuse, as Morgan's own dedication to his work abundantly testifies. Few were able to read. The masses had been dependent on oral and objective teaching, such as the Stations of the Cross, or the Miracle Play.

There were not wanting men to oppose his plans. It has already appeared that the English bishops in Wales were indifferent to the Reformation, and now the Court party, far from concealing their hostility, tried to dissuade the Queen from countenancing the laudable enterprise, on the ground that it would retard the progress of the English language and thus impede the union of England and Wales. Morgan's troubles were aggravated by enemies in his own household ; evil-disposed parishioners reported to Archbishop Whitgift that he was incompetent. Yet the work went on.

Morgan's new home was well fitted to be the scene of his labours. It is situated on a stream, dividing Montgomery and Denbighshire, about six miles from the Shropshire border, beyond which, however, Welsh was habitually spoken up to the nineteenth century. The inhabitants were simple peasantry, steeped in superstition —in this respect not in advance of their age.

Nature had been kind to this region. The village lies at the base of the Berwyn range, at a point where a small dale opens on the wider valley of the Tanat, which abounds in striking scenery. Above the village tower several peaks, spurs of the mountain range, their sides broken by deep gorges and dells ; a lake lies embosomed in the

hills. A waterfall not far off has been accounted among the wonders of Wales. The village clusters around the church, a venerable pile, once the centre of missionary effort. The pulpit in which Morgan preached, or "Bishop Morgan's" pulpit, is still to be seen. The churchyard slopes towards a murmuring stream shaded by wide-spreading sycamores. Such was the place where Morgan settled down to the chief work of his life. The villagers still point to the remains of a summer-house on high ground overlooking the churchyard where he pored over his manuscripts. Altogether the surroundings were well calculated to infuse and to foster pious sentiments. Indeed, it may not be fanciful to suppose that his environment left its impress on the new translation of Holy Writ. Some of the natural charm of the situation communicated itself to the writer's mind, and thereby to the sacred page. For the Welsh version mirrors the contents of the volume. Like the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, Welsh is pictorial and rich in images, but simple in its ideas, and lends itself to poetic and graphic description. The majesty of the mountains finds its counterpart in the lofty heights of an Isaiah or an Amos, the deep valleys in the profound truths uttered by a St. Paul, the limpid lakes in the lucidity of the thought and expression; the thunder of the cataract and the glee of the cascade in the roll of the sentences, the music, the passionless flow of the style. From this source Morgan drew inspiration and strength to prosecute his labours. At length, by the aid and encouragement of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, who undertook to defray the whole expense of printing; of Gabriel Goodman, a native of Ruthin and at the time Dean of Westminster; of Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, who had himself served his generation well by versifying the Psalms in nervous but popular Welsh; and of Richard Vaughan, rector of Lutterworth, who became Bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London—after nine years of unremitting industry and indomitable courage, Morgan

saw his labours crowned with success. As a reward for his accomplishment of this herculean task, Morgan was appointed to the See of Llandaff. In 1595, seven years after the publication of the Welsh Bible, he was translated to the richer See of St. Asaph.

Bishop Morgan's work was revised by Bishop Parry, his successor, and by Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd in Merioneth, a scholar profoundly versed in the Welsh language and literature, as well as in the Classics and Hebrew. The appearance of the Welsh Bible in the final form produced far-reaching results, and its power showed itself in several ways. It fixed the Welsh language, and supplied a standard to which future generations conformed; in this respect rendering the same service as the Authorised Version of the English Bible rendered the English language; its phrases and words became interwoven with ordinary speech; it provided the Welsh peasant with an unfailing source of pleasure, an instrument of education and basis of culture, widening his mental horizon, and ministering to his religious nature and poetic tastes. The shepherd on the slopes of Eryri and the ploughman in the Vale of Clwyd had gained direct access to the Divine Oracles! Still more profound was the moral and religious influence that the book exerted. The whole temper of the Welsh people was changed, and a new impulse spread through every class of the community. To the Welsh Bible is mainly due the revolution in Welsh thought which made Wales as Protestant as it had been previously Catholic.

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Photo: Wickens, Bangor.

BANGOR CATHEDRAL.

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THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF BANGOR AND ST. ASAPH

By H. Harold Hughes

THE architecture of the cathedral, monastic and larger parish churches of North Wales is essentially English in character, though embodying in instances certain local peculiarities. Of the two northern Welsh cathedrals, that of Bangor far excels in interest that of the sister church of St. Asaph, from an archæological standpoint. Both churches suffered much and often from the same causes during the Middle Ages, but, whereas in Bangor we can trace its gradual development from the twelfth century onwards, St. Asaph is practically a church of two periods—Decorated and Modern.

Bangor Cathedral

Deiniol, the first Bishop, is said to have been consecrated about the year 550 A.D., but of his or subsequent cathedrals, built previous to the twelfth century, there are no structural remains. There are, however, two stones with Celtic ornament, of pre-Norman date, preserved within the building, which act as a link between the present and the earlier churches.

We are informed that Bangor was destroyed in the year 1071. This destruction may have extended to the cathedral. At a Synod held at Westminster in 1102, measures were taken towards its restoration, and it is of the Norman cathedral, probably the result of this Synod, we have the earliest remains. On the external face of the southern

wall of the chancel may be seen a flat buttress, and, between it and the south transept, a built-up round-headed window. The buttress inclines inwards towards the east, and is, in fact, the commencement of a Norman apse, the foundations of which were discovered, springing from the buttress, during Sir Gilbert Scott's "restoration." Norman work, corresponding to the plinth of the buttress, was found at the base of the east wall of the south transept. It returned inwards at a point twelve feet short of the termination of the transept. Bases of piers of similar character to the buttresses were found beneath the four great piers of the crossing. At the north-east angle of the north transept is a stair turret, externally partially curved on plan, with two of the transept buttresses incorporated with it. Probably the curved portion is part of a Norman circular angle turret. The foundation of an external wall between the two second nave piers from the west end indicate the limit of the Norman nave. The Norman church, therefore, was contained within the present structure. In plan the form of a cross, it consisted of an eastern arm, considerably shorter than the present, terminated by an apse, transepts, the southern twelve feet shorter than the present southern transept, a nave about forty-five feet shorter than that now existing, and probably nave aisles.

Special interest is attached to this Norman church because it was within this building that Archbishop Baldwin preached a crusade in 1188, and, having celebrated Mass before the high altar, the Bishop of Bangor, Guy Rufus, "at the instance of the Archbishop and other persons, more importunate than persuasive, was compelled to take the Cross, to the general concern of all his people, who expressed their grief on this occasion by loud and lamentable vociferations." Prince Owen Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr, sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan, had been buried before the high altar. Now Owen had married his first cousin, and had been excommunicated by the blessed martyr St. Thomas. He, however, withstood the

excommunication, and lived with her till he died in 1169. Guy Rufus is said, acting in accordance with the directions of Archbishop Baldwin, to have made a passage from the vault through the south wall of the church, underground, and to have secretly shoved the body into the churchyard.

The Norman cathedral probably continued materially unaltered until early in the thirteenth century. We are told the city was burnt in 1211 or 1212, but we are not informed whether any damage was done to the cathedral. The enlargement of the sanctuary seems to have been the first work undertaken. The apse was taken down and the building extended eastward, the east wall probably occupying the position of that now existing. The internal remains of two lancet windows of this period are visible in the extended portion of the south wall. There are several statements with regard to the destruction of the cathedral for which there does not appear to be any reliable authority. It is evident, however, that the structure underwent extensive alterations in the latter half of the thirteenth century, probably during the time of Bishop Anian (1268–1305–6). This Anian was a Welshman, the same who christened the infant son of Edward I.

In 1824 the four piers and arches of the crossing were taken down, but at the "restoration" the bases of the thirteenth-century responds were discovered in position under the pavement. Sir Gilbert informs us, in carrying out the new work, he followed in the main the designs of the ancient piers and arches (of which he found fragments), but with such additions as he considered necessary for their strength. Of the transepts, before the "restoration" the only portions of thirteenth-century work visible were the base-course and three buttresses in front of the south transept and the sills and portions of the jambs of the windows of the two transepts. There were further indications that a building formerly existed to the east of the south transept. The buttresses and the base course of

the transept are of noble design. The central buttress is dwarfed, its gable terminating below the sill of the window. The jambs and sill of the south transept gable window consisted of thirteenth-century work *in situ*. The mullions, tracery, and arch, however, were work of the reign of Henry VII. Sir Gilbert found sufficient remains of the original windows, which had been re-used as mere building material, to determine their design. He therefore reconstructed the window, re-using all the old stones discovered. The thirteenth-century jambs and sill of the gable window in the north transept were found to have been reduced in size, to have been reversed, and filled in with Perpendicular tracery. This window was reconstructed in the same manner as the southern window, the design being derived from numerous original stones found built into the side walls of the transepts.

The south wall of the south transept contains a sepulchral niche and recess, both portions of one work. These features are probably coeval with the wall. The tomb, by tradition, is said to be that of Owen Gwynedd. From the character of the work, it is evident the tomb was not erected till a hundred years after his death. If, therefore, this is his resting-place, he must have been brought here after lying for many years in the churchyard. We would suggest that it is the tomb of Bishop Anian, the Welshman, who at this period did so much for the benefit of the See.

There is no indication that previous to the fourteenth century, the Norman work of the nave had been disturbed. In this century, however, the whole church west of the crossing was rebuilt; of this work the outer walls of the aisles still remain. The arcades were rebuilt in the early sixteenth century, without reference to the fourteenth-century spacing.

Contained in the western respond of the south arcade are remains of a fourteenth-century respond *in situ*. From this, and foundations of the arcade discovered in other

positions, it was found that the fourteenth-century nave inclined more to the south than the sixteenth.

Most of the tracery of the windows in the south aisle is ancient, but those of the north aisle contain much "restoration" work. A large number of ancient flooring tiles, chiefly of the fourteenth century, discovered under the chancel floor, have been re-used to pave the western portion of the north aisle.

A fine sepulchral slab, known as the "Eva Slab," dating from the middle or latter half of the fourteenth century, now fixed against the west wall of the north aisle, was found under the floor of the chapter-house building. The lady is shown in low relief, the hands raised, and from the left hand is suspended a rosary or set of praying beads, in connection with which are five circular brooches or rings.

Browne Willis informs us that Owen Glyndwr set fire to the cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph, and burnt them to the ground in 1402, "seemingly because the bishops of these churches were in King Henry's interest." To what extent or how long the churches remained ruined is uncertain. Bishop Cliderow, who died in 1435, directs in his will that if he died within two days' journey of Bangor, he should be buried in St. John's Chapel, in that cathedral, and that out of the sale of his goods his executors should cover his church with shingles. We may conclude that the building was in a fit state to receive the Bishop's body, but that it was in need of re-roofing.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the greater portion of the walls of the eastern arms were rebuilt. Although this work probably commenced before his time, the credit is mainly given to Bishop Henry Dean, 1496–1500. The windows in the side walls may be his work.

During the Norman period and the following centuries, including the fourteenth, the choir would have occupied the space under the crossing, the eastern arm being then given up to the presbytery. Mural tombs and doorways in the northern and southern walls of the chancel, of

fourteenth-century date, indicate that stalls did not occupy the eastern arm. The stalls would probably have been placed in their present position when Bishop Dean constructed the windows high up in each of the side walls of the chancel.

Dean Kyffin, 1480–1502, founded a chantry in the south transept in honour of St. Katherine.

To Bishop Skeffington, 1508–1533, is generally given the credit of building the nave and western tower. Probably his work commenced with rebuilding the nave arcades. Whereas the central line of the fourteenth-century nave, if continued, would have struck the east window considerably to the south, that of the sixteenth-century nave strikes the window to the north of its centre. The western tower is evidently Skeffington's work. On a bold string-course over the western entrance is the following inscription in raised letters :—THOMAS SKEVYNTON EPISCOPUS BANGORIE HOC CAMPANIELE ET ECCLESIAM FIERI FECIT A° PARTUS VIRGINEI—1532. In his will, Bishop Skeffington directs that his body be buried in the Quyer at Beaulieu (of which he was abbot), and his "harte to be caryed to Bangor, there to be buryed in the cathedral church before the Pictour of Saint Daniell." He further gives directions for the finishing of the steeple and glazing the windows.

The font is a good example of simple Perpendicular work. The panels of the stem are decorated with shields bearing coats-of-arms. Those on the north face, "a bend ermine inter two mullets pierced round of the field," are evidently those of the See. The others have not been assigned.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we read of the building being in need of much repair, and of money being expended to this end. Browne Willis informs us that in 1721, portions of the nave had earthen floors, "for the convenience of burial."

We need not follow the history further, nor enter in

detail into the extensive works carried out by Dean Cotton in the early nineteenth century. These were practically obliterated in the later "restoration."[1]

ST. ASAPH

The cathedral Church of St. Asaph retains no traces of an earlier building than that erected in the latter part of the thirteenth century. We have, however, a description of the sixth-century church, written probably in the twelfth century, from sources which, in a great measure, may be considered reliable. Kentigern had selected a site to build a monastery, but Maelgwn interfered. The Saint, however, miraculously converted him, and instead of hindering the work he supported it in regal style. "The sons of God" flocked from all quarters, and "set manfully and eagerly about their different operations; some cleared the ground, some made it level, and others prepared the foundations. Some, too, carried timbers, and others welded them together, and erected with skill and speed the church and other out-buildings of planed woodwork, after the British fashion."

Now Kentigern was a North Briton, the founder of the See of Glasgow. Driven away by the heathen, he journeyed to South Wales and eventually arrived at Llanelwy (St. Asaph) about the year 560 A.D., and founded the See. In 573 he was recalled, and we read how "in the presence of the assembled throng, he issued forth with some hundred followers from the northern door of his church, which was then closed, and only once a year in all after time was it ever suffered to turn upon its hinges, to mark, it is said, a double purpose—first, their reverence for the sanctity of him who had then passed through, and secondly, in token of the grief of those who had then

[1] The old silver communion vessels of the cathedral consist of a pair of chalices with paten-covers, a flagon and an almsdish, made in 1637–39. These were provided when two conspicuous loyalists, namely William Roberts and Griffith Williams (afterwards Bishop of Ossory), were bishop and dean respectively.—ED.

bidden him farewell." His disciple, Asaph, succeeded him about the year 573 A.D.

The following centuries are blank as far as the cathedral as an edifice is concerned. Possibly, like Bangor, it was rebuilt in the Norman period, for indeed, we have a Norman capital, discovered during the "restoration" of the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The masterful Anian II.[1] became Bishop in 1268. From Llewelyn he obtained a grant in 1272, but allowed little time to elapse before he strenuously opposed the Prince with reference to the construction and performance of the terms of the same. Accusations of robbing the Church of her rights and privileges were laid before the Archbishop. Llewelyn defended his actions, but "Letters of Monition" were sent by Pope Gregory X., to which Llewelyn paid no heed. Anian applied to Edward I., and the liberties of the See were confirmed. He could not, however, retain the pleasure of the English King, and when his cathedral was burnt, he appealed in vain to Archbishop Peckham to excommunicate those responsible for the sacrilege. The fire was accidental, and arose in fair fighting, wrote the Archbishop, and pointed out that the Bishop of Norwich, in like peril, remained with his flock and did not desert them. The cathedral, however, was destroyed, and Edward sought the sanction of the Pope to rebuild it at Rhuddlan. The Bishop gave his approval. The ostensible reason for the desired change was that St. Asaph was a country place, subject to attack so that it was not safe to approach it "much less dwell there . . . that even on the great festivals the attendance was so small that the canons had all the service to themselves and the walls," and that the body of St. Asaph himself, was liable to be stolen. Notwithstanding, it was eventually determined to rebuild the cathedral on the old site. It is of this church, commenced towards the end of

[1] His seal shows the Bishop's figure.

the thirteenth century, and probably extending into the fourteenth, that we have the visible structure. Possibly the eastern arm suffered less in the fire than the rest of the church. It does not appear to have been rebuilt at this date. During the "restoration," remains of thirteenth-century windows, of an earlier period than that of Anian, were discovered in the chancel walls. Sir Gilbert Scott practically rebuilt the chancel. The modern does not follow the lines of the original early thirteenth-century work. Sir Gilbert informs us how he based his design on early prints, but earnestly advised the Dean and Chapter not to act on it until he had searched for evidences in the work itself of the original design. This advice was ignored, and "in an evil moment of weakness" he yielded. Two couplets were carried out on either side, following as closely as possible the old prints. Then, to his dismay, the old details came to light in the walls near the central tower. The remaining windows, he informs us, were restored correctly, but of those first executed, he remarks "there ought to be a brass plate set up recording our shame and our repentance."

The central tower, aisleless transepts, and a short nave with aisles remain of the church which Anian commenced to rebuild. The mouldings of the arcades are continuous, and bear a strong resemblance to those of the same period at Conway. The clerestory consists of foliated squares. Those on the north are modern, and the old lights appear to have undergone alteration at some period. Many of the other windows are modern. A chapter-house formerly existed to the north of the church, approached through a doorway in the northern wall.

To collect funds for the rebuilding, the canons, furnished with a circular letter from the Archbishop, travelled throughout Wales and the dioceses of Hereford, Lichfield, and Coventry. The free tenants of the dean and chapter had to provide six labourers throughout the year to work in the "Red Rock."

In the south transept is the effigy of a bishop, brought from the chancel about the year 1780. The figure is supposed to be that of Anian, but has also been assigned to his successor Llewelyn ap Llewelyn ap Ynyr. At the head is a trefoiled cusped canopy with angels above and below, the former swinging censers. The angels have been mutilated and the hands of the Bishop and his crozier destroyed, but the face remains wonderfully perfect. The whole is an exceedingly fine piece of workmanship.

The cathedral is said to have been burnt to the ground by Owen Glyndwr in 1402, "with the steple, bells, quere, porch and vestiary, with all other contentis, bokes, chaliz, vestiments, and other ornaments, as the bokes, stalles, deskes, altres, and all the aparaill longying to the same chirch, was brent and utterly destroyed." We know, however, that in old accounts "burnt to the ground" must not be taken too literally. The main structure is certainly of a date anterior to this destruction. That great damage was done, that probably the roofs and fittings were destroyed and that the injury extended to the walls, we can well believe. Robert de Lancaster, Abbot of Valle-crucis, consecrated Bishop in 1411, not only repaired his monastery "on its destruction by fire" but "in a great measure repaired the church of St. Asaph which had also been destroyed by fire, even to the walls." The reparation appears to have proceeded continuously till the time of Bishop Redman, who completed the work about the year 1482. The stalls are good late Perpendicular work, and probably belonged to this period. Sir Gilbert found these stalls in the eastern arm, and removed them to the crossing, extending and adding new stalls to the eastward.

During the Puritan period the cathedral served at one time as a stable for horses and oxen.

During the later centuries we read of dilapidations, and extensive repairs required to the fabric. Its high and bleak situation, near to the sea, exposed to storms, is spoken of. In 1714–15 the tower battlements were

thrown down, shattering the organ and stalls. But of this period we need not enter into detail. To those who wish to follow more accurately the history of the cathedral, we would refer to the excellent *History of the Diocese* by Ven. Archdeacon Thomas.

The eighteenth-century silver communion vessels of the cathedral consist of a plain service, of conventional shape, bequeathed by Bishop Tanner (1731–35); and a later service given by Bishop Bagot.—ED.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF NORTH WALES

By H. Harold Hughes

THE great Celtic schools or monasteries, founded in the early centuries, as, for instance, those at Bangor-is-y-coed, Llanelwy, Bangor, Penmon, Caergybi, Clynnog, Ynys Enlli, Towyn, Llangurig, and Meifod, are outside the main scope of our present consideration. It is to the houses of the various religious orders of a later period that our remarks will more especially be confined. In many instances these establishments were the lineal descendants and occupied the sites of those of Celtic origin.

The following is a list of the chief houses of the various orders founded in North Wales :—

Cistercians.— Basingwerk, Aberconwy, Valle Crucis, Strata Marcella, Kymmer, and the Nunnery at Llanllugan.

Austin Canons.—The Abbey of Bardsey, the Priory of Beddgelert, and the Abbey of Penmon (or Benedictine).

Friars.—Llanfaes (Franciscan or Dominican), Bangor and Rhuddlan (Dominican), and Denbigh (Carmelite).

St. Benedict established his rule about A.D. 529. With the coming of St. Augustine, in A.D. 595, commenced the connection between the Benedictines and England.

St. Robert of Molesme, a Benedictine, in A.D. 1092 established the monastery of Citeau, the first of the Cistercian houses. Whereas St. Benedict's original idea

was that of forming houses, each aiming to enable its members to reach Christian excellence independently, the Cistercians carried still further the departure in monastic administration introduced by the Cluniacs in A.D. 912. Uniformity everywhere, and in all matters, was their chief aim. Furness, the first abbey of this order in England, was established in A.D. 1127.

The canons regular, like the monks, lived under a rule of life, based on that of St. Augustine. Originally the clergy serving every large church were known as canons. The system of common life later was extended to other institutions, based on similar lines, known as canons regular. Of these, the Austin canons were first found in Europe in the early part of the twelfth century.

The friars, as opposed to the monks, were bound rather to provinces than to special houses. At first, bound to poverty, they held only the buildings in which they dwelt.

BASINGWERK [1]

From the fact that Richard, son of Hugh Lupus, when on a pilgrimage to the Virgin's Well, took refuge at an abbey in the neighbourhood, we may gather that a religious house existed here previous to A.D. 1119.

In 1131 we are informed that Ranulph, who was poisoned by William Peverel in 1155, bestowed considerable benefactions on the house. Henry II. confirmed to God, St. Mary, and the monks of Basingwerk the donations of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and others. In 1188, Giraldus and Archbishop Baldwin lodged one night at the monastery. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, in 1194, confirmed the donations of his ancestors, especially the

[1] The seal of A.D. 1465 of this abbey is: the Virgin crowned, seated in a canopied niche, the Holy Child on the left arm, with a smaller niche on the left, containing an abbot kneeling in adoration. On the right in the corresponding niche the initials H. W. with a pastoral staff over the latter letter. + SIGILLUM . CONVENTUS . DE . BASYNGWERKE.

site of the abbey, the mill before the gate, and the land before the doors. Pope Martin V., 1417–31, furnished the "Abbey of Basingwerk with pardons and indulgences to sell to the pilgrims who should visit the holy fountain of St. Winifred." The abbey was dissolved in 1535.

The existing remains date chiefly from the reign of Henry II. or the latter half of the twelfth century. Only a small portion of the church is left. The other remains are those of the conventual buildings adjoining the south transept, barns, and probably a portion of a porter's lodge.

The church was cruciform, and consisted of a nave with aisles, transepts, and a chancel. Of the church, little is left beyond the west wall of the south transept, a few courses of the outer wall of the south aisle, and a portion of the west wall of the nave. There are no signs of a western entrance. The nave was about 99 feet long and 25 feet wide. The eastern respond of the nave arcade is semicircular. All the piers have disappeared. According to an account published in *Archæologia Cambrensis* in 1846, the remains of half an arch were sufficient to show that the arches were circular or very slightly pointed. There are certain indications in the south-west pier of the central tower of an alteration in the design after the building had advanced. The courses of the southern half do not range with the rest of the work. The inner orders of the tower arches were supported each by a triplet of graceful Early English corbels. The usual doorway is to be found at the south-east end of the south aisle, opening from the cloisters. Only the lower courses remain, though in 1846 it is said to have had a circular head. The transept retains a lancet window in its western wall above the level of the lean-to roof which covered the eastern walk of the cloisters. A narrow room, immediately south of the transept, probably was the sacristy. It had a western doorway, opening from the cloisters, and, in 1846, there was a

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round-headed doorway leading from the transept. A long building of two storeys in height—the dormitory above, with its undercroft below—complete the buildings on the eastern side of the cloister court. The chapter-house is small, 18 feet by 11 feet, and projects eastwards from this building, at its northern end. It is entered under two semicircular arches, from, probably, a western lobby. It was lighted by three lancets in the eastern, and a single lancet in either the northern and southern walls. One jamb of the usual doorway, between the dormitory and south transept, still exists. Both the dormitory and undercroft are lighted by lancets, but these differ from those referred to above in the manner of jointing and in their wide external splays, as opposed to the rebate for the wooden frame of the glazing. They may be assigned to a later date. Probably the undercroft would have been divided into separate rooms by cross-walls. A door in the eastern wall leads to the monks' cemetery.

To the south of the cloister-court is the "refectorium" or frater, a fine building, at least 70 feet long, with its axis north and south. The northern end has been rebuilt. The southern portion of the western wall contains an arcade of nine arches, some with pointed, others with circular, heads. Four of the arches were pierced for windows. A pulpit, as at Beaulieu, apparently occupied another arch, and was approached by a mural staircase from a doorway in the same wall, now blocked up.

Between the frater and the eastern range of the buildings, are the remains of a slype or passage running north and south. There are indications of the commencement of buildings extending westward of the frater on the south side of the cloisters. A long range of buildings to the north of the frater, all belong to a considerably later period.

ABERCONWY[1]

The Abbey of Aberconwy was founded in the year 1186. Two years later it receives cursory mention by Giraldus Cambrensis. "Having crossed the river Conwy," he writes, "or rather an arm of the sea, under Deganwy, leaving the Cistercian monastery of Conway on the western bank of the river to our right hand."

A charter, confirming its privileges, granted by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth to the Abbey, was dated from Aberconwy in 1198. Nearly a century after its foundation, Edward I. removed the Abbey, from the site he had selected for his new castle and town, to Maenan, a few miles higher up the river. The charter of Edward I. relating to its translation, provides that the church, which the monks before had as a conventual building, they should henceforth hold as a parochial one, causing the same to be served by two fit and honest English chaplains, of whom one should be perpetual vicar, to be named by the abbot and convent, and a third, an honest Welshman, on account of the diversity of language.

A considerable amount of thirteenth-century work exists in the present church; and, as this belongs to a period prior to the transference of the Abbey to Maenan, we may rest assured that it formed a portion of the early Cistercian Abbey.

Of work of the earliest period remaining, we have the entrance arch to the south porch. It may belong to the twelfth century. The mouldings have been defaced and the entrance rebuilt. Of early thirteenth-century work we have the lower portion of the western wall of the tower, with its triple lancets. We would suggest that the lower

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[1] The fifteenth-century seal of this abbey is: the Virgin and Child in a niche, supported by two angels kneeling. In base a shield of arms: a cheveron between three wolves' heads. The outer hands of the angels rest on the shield. SIGILLUM . HENRICI . ABERC . . . Y . ABBAT'.

part of this wall of the tower is the western front of the ancient Abbey Church. There are distinct indications that the other walls of the tower were not built at the same time as the western.

It would appear that the eastern termination of the original church coincided with that of the existing structure. The southern wall of the chancel, judging from the style of the two two-light windows, would appear, however, to have been rebuilt towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

We know from "a letter written by a certain noble of the King's (Henry III.) army on the 24th Sept. 1245," that the Abbey suffered much in this year from the hands of the English. The letter informs us that the King is with his army at Gannock (Deganwy), and, after describing the privations they are enduring, gives an account of certain of their men crossing the river to the relief of a ship full of provisions, which, being incautiously steered, ran aground on the Welsh side of the river on the Monday next before Michaelmas. Having pressed the Welsh into their usual hiding-places in the mountains and woods, and slain many of them, to quote the words of the letter, "our people then returned after defeating their enemies, and, like greedy and needy men, indulged in plunder, and spread fire and rapine through the country on the other side of the water ; and, amongst other profane proceedings, they irreverently pillaged a convent of the Cistercians, called Aberconwy, of all its properties, and even of the chalices and books, and burnt the buildings belonging to it. The Welsh, in the meantime, having assembled a large host of their countrymen, suddenly rushed with noisy shouts on our men, who were laden with booty, acquired by the most wicked means, and impeded by their sins, and put them to flight, wounding and slaying many as they retreated towards the ships." It does not seem improbable that the southern wall of the chancel owes its erection to the damage the Abbey

sustained on the occasion of this raid of the English. The western of the two windows it contains has evidently been much mutilated, if not entirely rebuilt. The eastern of the windows has a circle in the head, containing a quatrefoil with soffit cusping. The western entrance to the tower may be assigned to the same period. It seems never to have been intended for a doorway, and there are various indications pointing to its having been rebuilt. That this entrance was formerly that to the Cistercian chapter-house, in which position a door would not have been required, and that it was taken down and rebuilt in this position in place of a meaner and earlier entrance, does not seem improbable. The foliage of the capitals grows directly out of the responds, and is of excellent design and workmanship. The plan of the building, as it exists, doubtless grew out of the original normal Cistercian cross church. The southern transept, although of later date, probably occupies the position of an earlier one. A northern transept does not now exist, but old foundations, to a certain extent, have been found in the churchyard, in the position a transept would have occupied. The pulpitum would have been west of the crossing, and not in the position of the existing rood-screen.

The greater portion of the church, apparently, was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, after it had become parochial, and therefore does not come within the limits of our present consideration.

The transference to Maenan was confirmed by a bull of Pope Nicholas IV., in 1289, but the new Abbey retained its ancient name till its dissolution. Practically not a vestige of this Abbey remains, and the site at Maenan is occupied by a modern house.

VALLE CRUCIS

Of all the Cistercian houses in North Wales, the remains of those of the Abbey of Valle Crucis, or Mynachlog-y-Glyn,

Photo: Valentine & Sons.

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY: THE NAVE.

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are the most perfect. We can here obtain a more correct idea of the normal plan of a Cistercian abbey than elsewhere. Unfortunately even here, little remains of the conventual buildings apart from those on the eastern side of the cloister-garth.

Valle Crucis was founded in A.D. 1200, near the old cross in Yale, by Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor, who died and was buried in the Abbey in A.D. 1236. Doubtless during its early period, it followed strictly the rules of the order. During the fifteenth century, however, it appears to be especially noted for its wealth of hospitality and the luxury of its appointments.

Gutto'r Glyn, a poet who flourished A.D. 1430–60, thanks David the Abbot for a sword and buckler of exquisite workmanship, manufactured at Wrexham, and in a poem mentions that the Abbot "gilt and foliated the images, choir, chalices, and books." He proceeds and describes the feasting, the "old liquor to make us merry," and the "strains of organs, vocal and instrumental music" that accompanied the dinner. Guttyn Owain, another poet, A.D. 1460–90, tells us, "The resort of gold is the monastery, and its choir surpasses that of Sarum. It has costly carvings of foliages and images, and numerous voices."

The church, in common with all those of the order, is built in the form of a cross, and consists of a short and aisleless presbytery, square transepts, with eastern aisles (each aisle being divided into two chapels) and a nave, five bays in length, with side aisles. The high altar stands apart from the east wall. The altars in the chapels are attached to the east walls of the transepts. One altar remains at the east end of the nave, attached to the pulpitum. The transept chapels were separated from each other by screen walls, carried up to the level of the underside of the arcade capitals.

The church is situated on the northern side of the monastic buildings. This is the usual position. The

church thus gave shelter to the buildings from the north wind, and the most important or northern cloister, stretching along the nave wall, received warmth from the southern sun. The monks' approach to the choir was through a door at the north end of the eastern walk of the cloister. A doorway in the south wall of the south transept opens into a long chamber, presumably the sacristy. Another doorway in the same wall at the level of the first floor of the conventual buildings communicated directly with the dormitory. Doubtless, this doorway would have been approached by a flight of steps within the transept. The sacristy has a doorway opening out of the east walk of the cloisters. Adjoining this room, and, at one time, communicating direct with it, is the chapter-house. Southward, a passage or slype connects the cloister-court with a cemetery eastward of the buildings. The monks' dormitory extends over the slype, chapter-house, and sacristy, and is approached from the cloisters by a mural staircase in the west wall of the chapter-house. At the south end of the dormitory is a doorway opening into a small building to the south of the slype in a position suitable for the "rere-dorter."

The foundations only of buildings, to the south and west of the cloister-court, have been unearthed. To the south would probably have been the *calefactorium*, kitchen, and *refectorium*, while the foundations to the west are probably those of the *cellarium*.

The church, though containing work of later centuries, as a whole dates from the thirteenth. There are numerous signs, however, that the building belongs to various periods of this century—that many portions are not as originally designed, that walls have been raised, that the building has suffered from disastrous fires, and many portions have been entirely rebuilt. The oldest portions, which, from their design, must belong to a period within a few years of the foundation of the abbey, are the lowest portion of the presbytery and the transepts, the greater portion of the

piers which supported the central tower, the piers of the nave arcade, and the sacristy.

The windows of the earliest period at the east end are three nobly proportioned lancets with obtusely pointed arches. The low level of the sills of eastern windows in Cistercian churches should be noticed, as it, in all probability, is due to the fact that simplicity being compelled and carved figures forbidden, no space was required for an elaborate treatment of the wall space below. The external jamb mouldings return, forming outer sills, a distinctly Welsh characteristic. The eastern bay of the presbytery contains a lancet in both the north and south walls. The transeptal chapels likewise are each lighted by a single lancet, though those in the northern differ slightly from those in the southern transept.

Pilasters in the presbytery, which apparently were intended for groining shafts, terminate with carved capitals at the same level as the tower piers, and very considerably below the finished height of the walls. The abaci are of simple and rude detail for this date of work. In the second bay of the north wall of the presbytery are the remains of a small arcaded recess of six pointed arches, probably forming a mural tomb. A large portion of quadripartite groining remains over the south transept chapels. The nave consists of five bays, but of the piers the lower portions alone remain *in situ*. The sacristy has a barrel vault. The western entrance doorway from the cloisters has a semicircular head. The capitals are carved, each with a band of simple foliage. According to the original design, it would appear that the presbytery walls were intended to terminate below their present level. The upper two lancets in the east wall apparently introduce an amendment into the original design. Opening out of the roof space, over the vaulting of the south transept chapels, is a staircase in the south wall of the presbytery with a small loop towards the church. The stairs proceed a considerable distance

beyond the loop, and come to an abrupt termination. The loop may have enabled the sacristan to watch the perpetual lamp of the sanctuary at night. Externally the east end of the presbytery is ashlar-faced, and covered with a series of buttresses, more curious than beautiful. We are inclined to consider this work a facing of a date at least subsequent to the finishing of the side walls of the presbytery. Buttresses are carried up between the lower lancet windows ; their sides are curved outwards above to give them greater width, in order that they may contain the upper lancet windows, for which they are pierced. The whole of the buttresses are arched to support the higher part of the facing. The wrought stones are bonded very slightly into the older masonry. The lower part of the southern half of the wall, separating the monks' choir from that of the *conversi*, remains, with the starting of the stairs which lead to the pulpitum. The lower portion of the west wall of the church may be assigned to a period a few years later than any work in the eastern part of the building. In the centre is a rich entrance doorway. The jamb and arch have each four richly moulded orders, and in the arch a very beautifully carved variety of the dog-tooth ornament is to be found. The carving of the capitals is freer, and has not the angularity so marked in the earlier work in the Abbey. The severe abacus (a relic of the former century) has given way to the beaked abacus, which developed into that almost universally employed in the following (or fourteenth) century.

The great west window above the entrance doorway is almost of perfect proportions. The design is well conceived, simple and effective, though the workmanship of the details is rudely, if not carelessly, executed. The design is practically that of three windows contained under one enclosing arch. The central window is the widest and loftiest. Each window was divided into two lights by a mullion, though that of the centre window no

longer exists. The lights had trefoiled heads, and each window had a foliated circle under its containing arch. The curve of the external great containing arch is broken. Evidently the upper portion has been reset when the gable above was rebuilt.

Although it is evident that the church has been subjected to many alterations, nevertheless the work so far described extends only over a period of a little more than half a century. The great west window, the latest piece of work of the thirteenth century now standing, cannot be assigned to a period later than the early part of the last half of the century. The west gable itself is fourteenth-century work, and is ashlar-faced within and without. It contains a small rose-window. Above the window is the inscription :—

QVIESCAT : AME

✠ ADAM : ABBAS : FECIT : HOC : OPUS : N. PACE

Before leaving the church, it may be well to refer briefly to the causes which lead to the difference in Cistercian work from that of contemporary buildings belonging to other orders. This difference is marked by an intense Puritanism in Cistercian work. In all early examples the effect depends upon excellent design and proportion alone, without the employment of anything which might be considered superfluous ornament. As in their daily life all that could, in the remotest manner, be considered superfluous, above the most meagre essentials, so in their buildings, all elaborate or superfluous carving, all sculpture and all pictures (with the exception of those of the Saviour) were forbidden by those belonging to the order. The vessels of the monastery were even to be "without gold and silver and jewels," with the exception of the chalice and reed for communion, which two alone might be of silver. Painted glass was not permitted in the windows, but white glass only, and "without crosses or pictures."

The structure of the thirteenth-century church of Valle Crucis has been built in strict conformity with the regulations relating to the simplicity of the building. Within the church there is not a single representation of the human figure. Of carving there is nothing elaborate or superfluous. It is strictly confined to essential points. That of the capitals of the earlier work may be grouped into the following types:—that somewhat resembling the lotos-leaf; that of simple conventional foliage, the stalks of which start from the neck below the bell; that of simple foliage carried round in a continuous band beneath the abacus; and that consisting of a divided stalk in the shape of a heart, the stalk joined together at the broad end of the heart and turned inwards, bearing a cluster of leaves.

Fragments of coloured glass have been found, but all seem to belong to rather a late date. Probably when first erected the windows were glazed with white glass only.

Of the conventual buildings now standing, none can be assigned to a date earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century. The foundations of those to the south and west of the cloister-court evidently belong to the thirteenth century, and, in all probability, those on the east side follow the general plan and have been erected on the early foundations. The remains of a porch, to the west of the cellarium, contain distinctly stones of thirteenth-century character. The junction of the fourteenth-century buildings on the east side of the cloister-court with the thirteenth-century work is well defined. The later masonry is built with ashlar-faced stones; the older is entirely rubble walling. The chapter-house is divided by cross arcades into nine compartments, covered with quadripartite groining. The wave-moulding is employed throughout piers and groining ribs, and the mouldings are continuous. The entrance from the cloister-court, as is usually the case, has not been prepared for a door.

In the east wall are three windows, though that in the centre has lost its tracery. Each of the side windows are divided by mullions into three lights, with flowing decorated tracery above, of simple character.

To the left of the entrance to the chapter-house is a narrow chamber in the thickness of the wall, originally approached from the cloister walk, towards which it was open for its entire length, though divided into three divisions by mullions. The centre opening was the entrance. The side lights have mortise holes for stanchions and saddle bars. Several suggestions have been made as to the original use of this chamber, but so far it does not seem that any can be accepted with certainty.

Immediately to the right of the chapter-house entrance is a small doorway, from which a mural staircase leads to the monks' dormitory.

A deep drain is carried through the building south of the slype, against its northern wall, and it seems probable that the *dormitorii necessaria* or "rear-dorter" was situated here. The dormitory was lighted by a three-light traceried window high up in its southern gable and by narrow windows, 6½ in. wide, with trefoiled heads, in its east and west walls. A fireplace is provided in the east wall, a luxury which would not be found in a dormitory of the thirteenth century. Several early sepulchral slabs have been used to fill up the haunches of the groining over the slype. A doorway, of fourteenth-century detail, connects the dormitory with a room over the eastern portion of the sacristy. In the south wall of this room are three narrow windows of thirteenth-century character. A fireplace has been inserted, probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and an early sepulchral slab adapted to form the head. In the wall, on the opposite side of the room, starts the staircase leading to the space above the groining of the transeptal chapels, from which the stairs in the south wall of the presbytery commence. A room over the eastern portion of the chapter-house is an addition,

probably of the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

STRATA MARCELLA OR YSTRAD MARCHELL[1]

Founded in 1170, by Owen Cyfeiliog, all visible signs of this important Cistercian house had disappeared with the exception of slight ridges and depressions, and even the site was an uncertainty before excavations, carried out under the direction of the late Mr. Stephen Williams, were commenced in 1890.

The cloister-garth was discovered, in the usual position, south of the church. A portion of the pulpitum, separating the monks' choir from that of the *conversi*, was found *in situ*. Of the nave there was sufficient to determine its dimensions; that it consisted of ten bays, and that there were side aisles. The piers were formed of clustered shafts, and, from their design, might be assigned to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Two bays west of the pulpitum, a portion of a cross-wall, with a central doorway, was unearthed. This work evidently was not original. It has been suggested that the eight western bays were destroyed in the time of Owen Glyndwr, that there was insufficient money to rebuild this portion; that therefore the nave was shortened, and this cross-wall formed the western end of the reduced church. Of the choir, presbytery, and transepts little remained, but their probable general dimensions could be ascertained. The transepts seem to have had no eastern chapels. The presbytery was raised 1 foot 4 inches above the level of the choir. Of the chapter-house, which formerly occupied a position to the east of the cloister-garth, there were no remains except masses of masonry, apparently portions of the filling of a groined roof. Foundations to the west of the cloister-garth would probably be those of the cellarium

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[1] The seal of 1525 is a pointed oval: the Virgin and Child in a canopied niche. ". . . . . RIE STRATAMARCEL . . . . ."

and dorter of the *conversi*. Instead of terminating level with the western wall of the church, according to the usual plan, the church extends four bays westward of these foundations.

It is worthy of note that in the supposed position of the north transept, several interments of young children, none over seven years of age, were discovered. Many fragments of stone, carved with early thirteenth-century foliage, were found.

Judging from the character of the remains, the church founded in 1170 was not completed till an advanced period in the first half of the thirteenth century.

KYMMER OR CYMMER

This Abbey is mentioned in the "Taxatio" of 1291, but in certain pleadings, about 24 Edw. III., we obtain interesting data referring to an earlier period. The Abbot, at this time, was summoned to show by what right he claimed certain privileges. In response, he maintains that Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, by his charter, had given and confirmed to the Abbot of Cymmer, all the liberties, &c., which charter Lord Edward, the great-grandfather of the present Prince, inspected, ratified, granted, and confirmed by his letters patent. He produced the letters patent of Lord Edward, the grandfather of the present Prince, in which he states that he has "inspected the letters &c., of the Lord Edward, our father, in these words, 'Ed. &c. . . . We have inspected the Charter which Llewelin . . . gave to the Abbot and monks of the Cistercian Order in the Diocese of Bangor, devoutly serving God and the glorious Virgin Mary at Kymer, and living regularly under the rule of St. Benedict our patron,'" dated 1209.

The dates of the confirmations are :—

By Edward I.	26 March 17 Edw. I.
By Edward II.	11 August 6 Edw. II.

The remains of this Abbey are but scanty, and consist of the central division of the church, with portions of the aisles, and part of a dwelling probably dating from the sixteenth century, and known as "the Abbot's House." The church measures about 110 feet long internally, and the nave is 27 feet wide. The transepts have disappeared. In an unusual position at the west end, is a small tower. At the east end of the presbytery are three lancet windows. In the south wall are three arches, the remains of sedilia. On the north side of the nave are three obtusely pointed arches, supported on octagonal piers.

The general style of the work is that of the early part of the thirteenth century.

BARDSEY ABBEY

Of the once noted Abbey on the Isle of Bardsey or Ynys Enlli but little remains. A ruined tower of thirteenth-century character is all that is visible above ground. To the north-west of this building were certain dilapidated buildings, but these were removed about one hundred years ago. The tower measures about 12 feet by 12 feet 6 inches internally. It is two storeys in height. The south-east wall contains a lancet window in the lower storey, and a dilapidated opening in the south-west wall. The upper storey was lighted by windows, but of these only the fragmentary remains exist.

The island monastery is chiefly noted for the number of holy men who ended their days and were buried in this retreat, and, on that account, for the pilgrimages established in the Middle Ages for the sake of obtaining the intercession of the dead. Cadfan, the founder of Towyn in Merioneth and Llangadfan in Montgomery, is said to have been the founder of the original house, in conjunction with Einion Frenhin. We are informed that the body of Deiniol, the first Bishop of Bangor,

was buried here. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, resigned his Archbishopric and retired hither, where he is said to have died in A.D. 522, but his body was removed to Llandaff in 1120.

In the *Liber Landavensis* we are informed that a certain hermit, named Elgar, who had taken up his abode on the island, "having prepared a grave for himself in the oratory, lay down close by it and expired. While the body was yet warm, some sailors came to the place, and buried what they found ready for sepulture." The exact date of his burial is uncertain, but his teeth were removed from Bardsey on the 7th May, and received into the Church of Llandaff on the 23rd of the same month, in A.D. 1120.

Giraldus refers to the island under the two names, called in Welsh, Enlli, in Saxon, Bardsey. He tells us that it is inhabited by monks, and that many saints are buried here.

As to the order to which the mediæval monks belonged, there is a degree of uncertainty. In a Deed of Agreement, dated 1252, they are styled "Canonici." This deed is between the Abbot and Convent of Enlly, of the one part, and the Secular Canons of Aberdaron, of the other part. It has been considered probable that the house was that of regular canons of the Order of St. Augustine.

BEDDGELERT

This Priory was burnt down in A.D. 1283 and all the charters destroyed. It is from a letter written by Anian, Bishop of Bangor in 1286, with reference to this conflagration, and a charter of Edward I., that we obtain our knowledge of the earlier history of the house. We learn that Madoc, Prior of the House of the Blessed Mary of Bethkelert, and brother Hugh, a fellow canon, had gone to the King, supplicating him that, whereas all the buildings of the Priory and the charters concerning the different lands had lately been burnt, he should make for them

and their successors some security for the lands and tenements.

In Anian's letter, the Priory is referred to as "the Convent of the Valley of the Blessed Mary of Snowdon." The destroyed charters, which Anian mentions that he has personally seen, are those of Llewelyn the Great, Llewelyn ap Griffith, Lord Owen, and Lord David. He proceeds: "Whereupon, know all, that the said house of the Blessed Mary is the senior religious house in all Wales (except the Island of Saints, Bardigsya), and of better hospitality and of more common resort for the poor, and for the English and Welsh travellers for those passing from England and West Wales to North Wales, and for those going from Ireland and North Wales into England."

We learn that in addition to confirming the destroyed charters, the buildings had "been fully restored by the pious, Catholic and Liberal King, by the Grace of God, Lord Edward." The Bishop further mercifully relaxes forty days' penance to all those, being truly penitent and confessed, "who from their goods, granted them by God, have given to it (the house) pious alms and other favours."

In 24 Edward III. the Prior was summoned to answer to the Prince on what grounds he claimed for the Priory certain rights and privileges. In answer, the Prior produced a charter, said to be that of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, and further relates the circumstances of the loss of the muniments by fire. Upon this, it is pointed out "that whereas the Prior had actually produced in court a charter which he asserted to be that granted by Llewelyn, and then had afterwards alleged that all the charters and muniments of his house had been destroyed by fire . . . it was evident the charter produced under the name of Llewelyn could in no wise be called, nor admitted to be, that very charter, by which the privileges in question had been granted." It was further declared to be newly sealed, to be false and fabricated. In the end the Prior

was committed to gaol, but later the temporalities were recovered on payment of a fine of one hundred shillings.

The Priory appears to have been in a prosperous condition in the fifteenth century. Lewis Daron, a bard, in a poem, solicits the Prior to bestow on John Wynne, of Gwydir, a fine bay horse, and extols him for his liberality and learning.

In the 27th Henry VIII., the Priory was granted to the Monastery of Chertsey, and in the 29th Henry VIII., together with Chertsey, to the Abbey of Bisham, in Berkshire.

The parish church of Beddgelert contains all that is left of the ancient Priory. It consists of a nave, about 80 feet long, and a north aisle or transept. Between the nave and aisle is a fine moulded arcade of two arches. The east end is lighted by three lofty lancet windows. Both these features, the windows and the arcade, apparently belong to the earlier part of the thirteenth century, and therefore would have existed at a date previous to the conflagration in the reign of Edward I. With the exception of these two features, nearly all interest has been eliminated from the structure by repeated "restorations." Ruins of buildings to the south of the church existed eighty to one hundred years ago. Previous to 1830, we are informed that the church was seated throughout with old polished black oak, higher than the occupants, carved all over, with round holes facing the altar-table. Oak screens filled the arcade arches. The roof was of oak, with carved figures. All windows were filled with coloured glass. All these features have since been destroyed.

PENMON

We have here two branches of one establishment: that of Penmon at the south-east extremity of Anglesey, and that on Ynys Seiriol, a limestone rock, separated by a deep channel from the mainland. From the fact that the

earliest charters of which we have copies, although of a date subsequent to the erection of the existing "Priory" Church of Penmon, invariably refer to "the Canons of the Isle of Glannauch," we are inclined to believe that the first religious brethren took up their abode on the island. The authorities who connect Seiriol with a college founded here in the sixth century, naturally must be received with due caution.

The first definite mention of the religious fraternity on the island is by Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, MCLXXXVIII. The following may be taken as a free rendering of the Latin: "There is an island," Giraldus writes, "of moderate size, adjoining and almost united to Anglesey, inhabited only by hermits, living by the labour of their hands, and serving God. This is remarkable that, when any discord arises among them by the influence of human passion, all their provisions are devoured by a species of small mice with which the island abounds; but when the discord ceases, they are no longer troubled. It is said, moreover, that the Island is called in Welsh, Ynys Lenach, or the Ecclesiastical Island, on account of many saints whose bodies are buried here, and no women enter this Island."

The earliest charter of which we have a copy is that of Inspeximus, 23 Edward I. This recites and confirms six older charters, commencing with that of L., Prince of North Wales, to the Canons of the Isle of Glannauch, MCCXXI. In 33 Edward III. we find mention of the Prior and Convent of Prestholm, and in 18 Richard II. the name of Penmon is added. In the early fifteenth century we first hear of "The Priory of St. Seiriol, of the Order of St. Augustine."

After the Dissolution, the property remained in the hands of the Crown till it was sold in 1564, "the lead, bells, and advowsons to be excepted."

The only remaining portion of the Church on Ynys

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Seiriol, above the ground-level, is the tower. It is of Norman type, probably dating from the early part of the twelfth century. Arches in the eastern and western walls opened respectively into the nave and sanctuary. The tower, therefore, was central. A transept appears to have been thrown out at a later date to the south of the tower. A round arched opening in this wall cuts through an original round-headed Norman window. The Norman church was very small; the tower measures only about 8 feet square internally, and the foundations of the eastern arm indicate that the sanctuary only measures about 5 feet square. The lower portions of the walls of a larger chancel of later date may be seen with the step to the altar-pace and a portion of the stone altar. The tower, externally, is divided into two stages by a roughly squared string-course. The upper stage contains belfry lights, those to the north and east being single, those to the south and west having formerly consisted of two lights divided by a shaft or mullion. All heads are roughly semicircular in form. The tower is covered by a rough pyramidal stone roof, constructed on rough rubble, built on wooden centring. The marks of the boards so employed are distinctly visible under the northern and eastern slopes. On the eastern face of the tower, the height and shape of the roof of the original eastern arm could be traced. From these we gather that this small building had a very acutely-pointed roof, and that the ceiling was of stone and of curved form. The type reminds us of the early Celtic buildings still existing in Ireland. Probably, however, the tower and eastern arm were contemporaneous, and in the roof of the latter the old traditional manner of construction was continued.

There are considerable remains of mounds and foundations apart from those of the church, but the débris lying over and around them has never been cleared. Nothing definite, therefore, can be said of the buildings of which they formed portions.

The church at Penmon appears to have been erected about the same time as that on the island. It is of the same type, but larger and more elaborate. The nave, central tower, and southern transept are Norman work. The north transept is modern. As in the case of the church on Ynys Seiriol, a larger chancel was added, probably in the fifteenth century; but, with the exception of the lower portions of the walls, it was entirely rebuilt when the church was "restored." The tower has the same pyramidal rubble roof. The ancient belfry lights are round-headed and double, separated by a short shaft or baluster, with a cap and base. The northern and southern arches of the tower, instead of being plain, like those on Ynys Seiriol, are elaborate, the chevron and billet ornaments being conspicuous. The nave would give an excellent idea of this portion of an ancient Norman church if it were not that the roof is modern and does not follow the old pitch. The new walling to accommodate the roof can be seen in the western gable. The nave is lighted by three small round-headed loops with very wide internal splays, one in each external wall. The southern doorway, with its dragonesque carved tympanum under a round arch, is a feature of much interest.

The levels of the floor of the church follow those of the ground, descending by steps from west to east. The fifteenth-century glass from the east window of the chancel has been adapted and mixed with new to fit the east windows of the north and south transepts.

Of the conventual buildings there are some remains. To the south of the south transept is a cottage, still occupied, for the most part of post-Reformation date, and joining the church with a building, probably dating from the thirteenth century, generally known as the Refectory, of three storeys and lying east and west.

A building added against the eastern gable of the refectory is probably of sixteenth-century workmanship.

A fine detached pigeon-house, with domical roof, belongs to a late date in the history of the monastery.

We cannot pass over without reference the most interesting series of pre-Norman crosses. In the adjoining deer-park is a perfect cross, with its base, of most excellent proportions. In its ornament the late Mr. Romilly Allen considered it showed evidence of a mixture of Scandinavian, Irish, and Saxon influence: Scandinavian in its "chain of rings" pattern, Irish in its figure subject, and Saxon in its key patterns.

The shaft and head of a second cross, formerly used as a lintel in the refectory, has been set up in the south transept. The font is apparently the base of a further cross.

Both Bardsey and Penmon have been considered, by some authorities, to have been houses of Benedictines or Black Monks.

BANGOR

Leland mentions "A priory of White Freres by Bangor, dedicate to Jesu." This is supposed to have been a mistake on his part. Other authorities write of "a house of Black Fryers" or "house of friers preachers." By the former name are they referred to in the "Survey of Friars Lands," 30 Henry VIII., and in the "Inventory of Friars goods." Only one house of friars is known to have existed in Bangor. The will of one, Roger Sylle, in 1527, certainly makes mention of two houses, "the Freres of Bangor" and "the Freres of Saint Frauncis at Bangor." By the letter, however, it has been suggested that the House of Franciscans at Llanfaes is intended.

The house is said to have been founded in 1276. Bishop Tanner gives the honour to Tudor ap Gronw, Lord of Penmynydd and Trecastell, "who enlarged or rebuilt it in 1299, and was interred here in 1311."

When laying out the Friars Estate for building purposes, and in the construction of new roads and sewers,

in 1898, foundations of ancient buildings, evidently the remains of a religious house, were unearthed, together with several richly carved sepulchral slabs and a large number of human burials. The buildings stood close to the old beach at Hirael. Of their existence there was no tradition. The remains consisted of the foundations of a long building lying east and west, containing sepulchral slabs and fragments of the ironwork of windows and lead glazing. This would appear, with almost a certainty, to have been the church.

An enclosed court to the north suggests the cloister-garth. Remains on its eastern side are probably those of the sacristy and chapter-house. Three fine sepulchral slabs have been found in the position occupied by the latter. Remains of other buildings were discovered on the western side of the cloister-garth. All the worked sepulchral slabs contained floriated crosses. Over the stem of one was a square figure charged with armorial bearings. Another contained a shield with a sword in a scabbard. The character of the foliage and details of all the slabs was that characteristic of the late thirteenth century. The few fragments of worked stone indicated that the building belonged to the same period. A grave-yard, to the south of the church, contained skeletons of men, women, and children.

The old Friars' school buildings stood about 300 yards distant from the site of these buildings. Several sepulchral slabs, now for the greater part destroyed, were formerly built into the walls of the school buildings. These, together with human remains, are said to have been discovered close to the school-house. They are all of a date subsequent to those found near the beach. It may be suggested that shortly after the erection of the earlier buildings they were found to have been built at too low a level. The site certainly seems at some time to have been covered by the tide. In the fourteenth century, therefore, it may have been decided to rebuild the house

further removed from the sea in the later position. The later slabs included one to a certain Gruffydd ap Iorwerth, another with the words "ap Tudor," probably that of Tudor ap Gronw ap Tudor. A third slab contained an effigy of a lady, and a fourth was that of a certain Brother John of Llanfaes. All these slabs are of fourteenth-century workmanship.

RHUDDLAN

Of the Dominican Priory at Rhuddlan but little remains. Remnants of monastic buildings have been converted into farm buildings. Several most valuable sepulchral effigies and slabs still remain.

DENBIGH PRIORY

Of the Carmelite Priory at Denbigh, founded by Sir John Salisbury in 1284, little remains. These consist of the chapel and some buildings to the south. Until recently the chapel retained its timber roof, but it has been destroyed by a fire.

The chapel may be assigned mainly to a period within a few years of the date of the foundation. To this period belong the remains of the two five-light windows, with ogee heads and cinquefoiled cusping in the north and south walls, and the sedilia. The east window is a five-light, double transomed window, and formerly was glazed with glass containing the coat-of-arms of the Salisbury family and their alliances. Many members of this family were buried in the Priory chapel.

In 1535 Bishop Standish left, in his will, twenty marcs "pro edificio claustri."

At the Dissolution an inventory of the goods of the Priory in 1538 refers to the following different portions of the buildings:—The quyer (chapel), the vestry, the chamber, the hall, the kechyn, the brewhouse, and the buttre.

THE PARISH CHURCHES OF NORTH WALES

By H. Harold Hughes

IN an able paper by Mr. F. Bligh Bond, he writes:—"We have . . . two fountain-heads of ecclesiology, Levantine and Roman; and it is to the former that we must look for the origin of our British type of church. For Christianity was brought to these islands in Apostolic times, and a regular branch of the Church constituted here long before the 'peace of the Church' enabled Rome to proselytise."

It has been argued by recognised authorities that we derive our Christianity through Gaul from the Church at Ephesus, founded by St. John the Evangelist, and that we must look for the prototype of our plan to the Temple, with its Holy of Holies and its veil rather than to the basilica.

In a work of much interest, recently published by Mr. H. L. North, on *The Churches of Arllechwedd*, he traces the peculiarities of the national British type of church plan, independently of English influence, in the district to which his work is especially confined. He shows how loth the native inhabitants were to depart from the original type of church plan which was introduced with the advent of Christianity. The features distinguishing the churches of this island from those of any other country of Western Europe are enumerated: (1) The square east end as opposed to the apse; (2) The altar withdrawn behind screens; (3) The south door instead of the western portal.

We have no remains of the early Celtic churches,[1] but references are made to them in early writings from which we may gather clues as to their construction. Warren, in his *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, refers to certain MSS., including the *History of St. Bridget's Church at Kildare*, by Cogitosus, which imply that there was a solid screen between the nave and chancel having doors in it. There was a "partition of planks," we read, which was "decorated and painted with figures, and covered with linen hangings." It "extended along the breadth in the eastern part of the church, from the one to the other party-wall of the church."

In the later Saxon church the early Celtic influence so far obliterated the Roman type that the square east end took the place of the basilican apse, and the chancel was separated from the nave by a solid wall containing only an opening of narrow width.

The structure of the church, in the truly Celtic districts, where uninfluenced by English ideas, continued up to a late date to be that of a simple parallelogram. There would be no structural division between nave and chancel. Therefore the solid screen, as in St. Bridget's Church, would be a necessity. Mr. Bligh Bond describes and illustrates an early screen in the little church of Llanelieu, near the valley of the Usk, probably of the fourteenth century, closed on the eastern side above the loft, by a "boarded tympanum, diapered with flowers on a coloured ground of distemper." At Llangelynin, on the hills above the Conway valley, Mr. North draws our attention to the fragmentary remains of a rood-screen. The roof principal, over the eastern side of the loft, retains its upper tie. On its underside, in the centre, is a long mortise, with the ends of the boards still remaining in it. These Mr. North considers—and we agree with him—are probably the remains of the idea of the completely boarded-in

[1] Several small Celtic handbells are described in the last chapter.—ED.

tympanum. In support therefore of this theory of the solid division in the rectangular churches of Celtic origin, we have the probable Eastern origin of the British Church —the ikonostasis—the early written references, the fourteenth-century screen, with its boarded tympanum, at Llanelieu, and the remains of the Llangelynin screen, with their later developments. We can, with a considerable degree of confidence, argue that the Llanelieu screen is only one of a long series, and that its prototype must have existed ages before.

The greater number of early churches were probably constructed of wood and wattle, though from an early period rude churches of stone may have been erected in certain districts. Notwithstanding their early foundation and the inscribed stones of the seventh and kindred centuries, and the pre-Norman erect crosses and fonts found on the sites of many churches, there is no evidence that any existing ecclesiastical work in North Wales dates from an earlier period than the eleventh or twelfth century. Indeed, by far the greater portion of remaining mediæval church architecture belongs to a very late period, the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The rectangular building continued, to the latest period, to be the recognised plan of the British church builders. Numerous examples of churches of this simple plan, with no structural division, still exist, though many have been destroyed during the last half of the nineteenth century. Llanerfyl, Llangower, Llanwddyn, Llanfechain, Cwm, Disserth, Llandyssil, Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr, Bettws Gwerfyl Goch, Derwen, Llandudno, Bryncroes, and Llanbabo may be mentioned as a few among many instances of churches which either retain this plan or did so till within recent years.

In a large number of churches the original plan can be traced though the building may have been extended and increased in several directions. The usual manner of increasing the size in the first instance was to lengthen

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the structure, generally by extending the building towards the east, as at Llangelynin. There are, in fact, very few churches which retain the earlier proportions of length to breadth—the former about twice the latter—Capel Curig, apart from its later transept, is a rare instance.

After lengthening the building, in certain districts followed the addition of an aisle, generally, but not invariably, on the northern side. The Denbighshire double-aisled churches are good examples of this type. It is to be found in a limited degree among the churches of Carnarvonshire. In Anglesey the type is rare. We may mention as examples St. Asaph, Whitchurch, Llanelien, and Llannefydd in Denbighshire; Llanengan, Aberdaron, and Llanrhychwyn in Carnarvonshire; and Llanidan, Aberffraw, and Llangwyfan in Anglesey. In the church of Bodfari, now rebuilt, the arcade was formerly supported on oak posts, and at Llanarmon-yn-Ial, before the "restoration," the pillars were of round, unwrought trunks.

In other instances, transepts were thrown out from the rectangular structure. In the Snowdon and Anglesey districts especially, their position is peculiar—level with or set back only a few feet from the east end. The object probably was in order to obtain an unobstructed view of the high altar. This would, as Mr. North points out, seem to indicate that not only was the transept intended to receive an altar, but that it was, in addition, planned for congregational use. At Gyffin, Llangelynin, Caerhun, and Capel Curig the transepts are strictly level with the east end. In the purely Welsh districts there was generally no arch at the entrance to the transepts, but the old eaves of the main roof, across the new opening, was supported on beams as at Llangelynin and Gyffin in Carnarvonshire.

The structural chancel did not appeal to the Celtic mind. Where it has been adopted, invariably the influence of the Latin Church may be traced.

The unbroken roof, from east to west, continued throughout the Middle Ages to express most strongly the local tendencies.

Even in the late churches near the border, where English influence might be expected to be rampant, the important churches of Wrexham, Gresford, Holt, and Mold, each consisting of nave and side aisles, of equal length, had no structural division between chancel and nave. A comparatively insignificant chancel was thrown out at Wrexham in the early sixteenth century. The great east window was denuded of most of its tracery and converted into the chancel arch. At Mold the chancel is modern.

The rood-screens and lofts at the entrances to the chancels have a character of their own. Mr. Francis Bond, in *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*, refers to the following peculiarities in Welsh examples :—

1. Decorations with filigree work. Of this the western parapet of the rood-loft at Llanegryn, and the eastern of that at Llanrwst, furnish good examples.

2. A non-lithic feeling in the design, as evidenced in the fondness for post-and-lintel construction, as at Llanegryn, opposed to arched heads filled with window-like tracery, as in the screens of Conway and Llanrwst. Again, instead of arches, we get straight-sided sloping heads, as at Llanrwst, beneath the cornice.

Of the two screens at Conway and Llanrwst, both retain their lofts, but the parapets are missing in the former. That at Conway is the earlier and finer of the two. The vaulting rises, and then descends against the styles of the pendants. In the Llanrwst example, the true meaning of the feature has not been appreciated. Mr. Aymer Valance has pointed out that there is no connection between the pendant styles and the vaulting, and that the former are a mere screen to the latter. He has further drawn attention to the pomegranate, the badge of Catherine of Aragon, in the Llanrwst screen, which

would apparently confine the date of its construction to the period between 1496 and 1533; that is, from the betrothal of Catherine to Prince Arthur, in the former year, to her repudiation by Henry, in the latter.

Further fine examples of screens remain at Montgomery, Gresford, Llanyblodwel, Llanderfel, Derwen, Clynnog, Llanengan, and Llaneilian.

The Clynnog screen has been reduced in width by 1 foot on the western side, by cutting off the overhanging portion.

At Cerrig y Drudion, Archdeacon Thomas informs us the sill piece of the old rood-screen is known by the name of "Pren Pymtheg," which "appears to indicate the age of fifteen, at which young people were held to attain years of discretion and become communicants, none others being allowed to remain in the choir during the celebration."

The aisleless cruciform churches, with distinct chancels, are more foreign in plan than the double-aisled churches, but in certain cases have this peculiarity, that, whereas in England the main roofs invariably lie east and west, in these cases the transeptal roof is continuous across the church from north to south, as at Clynnog, where, in addition to the chancel arch, a second arch is carried across the nave immediately west of the crossing.

There are in Anglesey a few churches with square chancels, and with naves only a little greater in length than their width, in the proportion of one to one and a quarter to one and a third. The churches at Llaneilian and Llanfihangel Din Silwy may be mentioned as examples. Although the structures, as in the case of Llaneilian, may belong to a late period, probably the plan follows the outline of the twelfth-century building. In this instance a Norman western tower still remains, though covered with weather-slating. The spire is of rude masonry, reminding us of the Penmon and Ynys Seiriol examples, though differing in that the belfry lights

of the former are missing in the two latter examples. The short square chancels and the sanctuaries of the early non-constructionally divided churches were, we may conclude from divers evidence, of like proportions.

In the early rectangular churches there apparently was little difference in the proportion of the nave and chancel. The screen would occupy a position fairly centrally. In the examples referred to above, although the size of the nave is increased in proportion to that of the chancel, and the division is marked by an arch, the old approximately square proportions of the nave and chancel are still retained. Llandyfrydog furnishes another example of an exceedingly short nave.

The long chancels of English churches were introduced in the thirteenth century, but did not obtain much favour in this district.

Towers were added to many of the parish churches, generally at a late period. They almost invariably occupy a position at the west end of the nave. The finest example is that at Wrexham, which was not completed till 1520. The whole surface is a mass of buttresses, niches, statues, and panels. It lacks a certain breadth of treatment. More plain surfaces are required, and a concentration of ornament. Amongst the statues are to be found those of St. Lawrence and St. James. Mr. A. N. Palmer considers that these saints were introduced in honour of Catherine of Aragon. Other noted towers are the beautiful example at Gresford, and those at Holt, Hope, Clynnog, and Llanengan. In the simpler examples the only approach to the tower is often from the nave, as at Llandrillo yn Rhos, Llanerchymedd, Llanfechell, and Llaneilian. At Llanfechell the tower terminates with a peculiar and interesting stone domical erection of late date, having the appearance of a columbarium. In some instances a large wooden bell-turret was constructed at the west end, the supporting timbers being carried down and resting on the floor of the church. A good example

formerly existed at Llandyssil. The western tower at Mallwyd is of timber construction.

From the Norman period onwards there are certain churches which appear to have been but little influenced by the Celtic spirit. Doubtless they derived their inspiration from the Latin monks. Little that is ancient remains of the once grand church at Towyn in Merionethshire, but that little is all precious. The massive circular columns, the round arches without orders, and the small clerestory windows of the Norman nave, all unornamented, might belong to the severest building of the same period to be found across the English border. The transitional church at Llanaber, near Barmouth, with its nave, aisles, and chancel, and its fine carving, is a specimen of more ornate character. Llanidloes contains a rich early English arcade, but this is considered to have been brought from the Abbey of Cwm-hir after the dissolution. The late Mr. Underwood pointed out that the arches fit irregularly over the columns, the western space between the columns is 8 feet 4 inches, while the others are 12 feet 8 inches each, and that there are no mouldings for the arches on the north side though the capitals are arranged to receive them. The church at Beaumaris, probably originally the garrison chapel and erected by the castle builders, is of distinctly English Decorated character, and, doubtless, was built by imported workmen. The late chancel, with its flat, taking the place of the earlier steeply pitched roof, was probably carried out by local men.

In the churches of North Wales, unless the nature of the site otherwise ordained, the altar was raised but slightly above the general level of the building. The floors, until modern times, were for the most part of beaten earth, similar to those still existing in many of the smaller farmhouses. In this hilly country, to obtain an orientation, it was often necessary that the church should either run into or away from the hill. If the rise was slight, the floor would follow the natural gradient, rising to or falling from

the east end. If, however, the ground rose rapidly, we find the floor levels rise by successive flights of steps, as at Cwm. In this instance, and at Clynnog, the nave to the east of the side entrance is approached by a flight of several steps. At Penmon, on the other hand, there is a considerable descent from west to east.

The earlier roofs of the country churches were evidently covered with thatch. In the close-couple roofs, Mr. North draws our attention to "the little intermediate rafters, placed between the large couples, and supported by short bridging pieces," which "were added, no doubt, when the old thatch was pulled off and the churches were slated for the first time." The oldest roofs would probably have principals with tie-beams at the feet and second ties at a higher level. There are a few examples remaining of a roof construction of this nature, as at Llangelynin, but here the lower tie-beams have been cut away. The close-coupled roof was a later introduction, though possibly it may have come into use as early as the thirteenth century. The vast proportion of old roofs existing date from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The greater number are of very simple construction. Some of the richer churches have elaborately moulded principals and purlins, panelling, carved bosses, angels bearing shields and other enrichments. The simpler churches, however, were never boarded between the rafters, but, after slating had superseded thatch, they were simply roughly rendered between the woodwork.

In several churches we find decorative bands, generally in the cornices, representing "a chase of animals." Carving of this nature is to be found on the internal cornice at Whitchurch and externally at Gresford. On the remains of the rood-screen at Pennant Melangell is a representation of the legend of the Saint. St. Melangell fled from her father's court, so that she might the better serve God rather than marry a noble. Prince Brochwel Ysgythrog, out hunting, was led by the hare, which took refuge

under her garments, to the thicket where she dwelt. The maiden, hare, hounds, and huntsmen are represented on the screen.

We have early reference to the external white-washing of churches. In certain districts the custom continued in common use till an advanced date in the nineteenth century. We may give as instances the churches of Bodfari, Cwm, Abergele, Llanelian, Cerrig y Drudion, Bryn Eglwys, and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd. There can be no doubt that the pure whiteness of these simple structures on the natural undulations of the unwrought rubble masonry must have added wonderfully to their charm. We may appreciate this effect if we look at the older farmhouses which still continue to be treated in this manner. The church of Mount, in Cardiganshire, is still, if we mistake not, white-washed—walls and roof—with a most pleasing result.

With only the skeletons before us, it is difficult to appreciate the former effect of the old churches. Even in the case of remote buildings the walls were covered with frescoes, which, at a later date, gave way to black-lettered writing within ornamental borders. The decoration covered the wrought stonework—the piers and arches—as well as the wall surfaces. At Llannefydd traces of the earlier frescoes and later black-lettering were brought to light, but in an utterly dilapidated condition.

At Wrexham, above the chancel arch, the Last Judgment was depicted. On the north wall of Llanwyddyn, in nine compartments, were painted scenes from the Passion of Christ. Remains of frescoes have been discovered at Cerrig y Drudion, Cwm, and St. Cybi's, Holyhead, amongst other places.

The timbers of the roof, screens, and other work, although of oak, were not intended to be left bare of colour. In the open timber pointed roofs the portion over the sanctuary had usually a coved ceiling. In many cases, when the original ceiling had disappeared, there are indications of its former existence, as at Llanllyfni. In a

few churches the sanctuary boarded ceiling retains its former distempered decoration. That at Gyffin contains the symbols of the Evangelists and figures of various saints. At Llanelian we have the Wise Men and the Shepherds, the Annunciation, and St. Anne and the Virgin. The roof of St. Eilian's Chapel, in Anglesey, retains faded remains of its former decoration.

The fragments of painted glass which remain even in out-of-the-way churches show how generally coloured glazing was used. Most of the glass belongs either to the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. It is said chiefly to have been made in Chester. Perhaps the most noted glass is that of the Jesse windows at Disserth and Llanrhaiadr Dyffryn Clwyd. At Gresford the glass has been much "restored," but here are the remains of a Jesse and a Te Deum window. At Hope we have fragments of glass illustrative of the Te Deum. Amongst other churches, those of the following retain portions of their old painted glass:—Cerrig y Drudion, Mold, Gwyddelwern, Bettws Gwervyl Goch, Cwm, Llannefydd, Penmorfa, Llanrhychwyn, Dolwyddelan, Trefdraeth, Penmon, and Llanfechell.[1]

[1] The ancient glass in some of these churches has now disappeared.

THE EISTEDDVOD

By L. J. Roberts, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford

Chairman of the Literary Committee of the National Eisteddvod of 1904

THE word Eisteddvod,[1] which means a sitting or a session, comprising not merely the great National Eisteddvod held for four or five consecutive days annually, but also an innumerable body of lesser gatherings held in different parts of Wales at various times. The great annual festival is held alternately in North Wales and South Wales, and to it flocks an enthusiastic multitude numbering over 10,000 persons—on some days as many as 15,000 persons—not a few of whom are Welshmen from foreign lands, drawn to the national festival by their love for the "land of their fathers." But, apart from the National Eisteddvod, there are held every year, especially on bank holidays and festival days, hundreds of local gatherings, ranging from large provincial and local Eisteddvodau, attended by many thousands of persons, down to the humble but useful competitive meetings, without one of which hardly a year passes in a Welsh village. Though these lesser gatherings may be regarded as satellites revolving round the great central institution, they form part of no organised system. The local meetings are entirely spontaneous: they arise from the "mere will and motion" of the people of the locality, and are subject to no external control or interference. But these miniature Eisteddvodau, sporadic and

[1] It may perhaps be pointed out that the word is pronounced—Ice-teth-vod, the accent being on teth, pronounced as in *teth*er.

unconnected though they be, are fertile feeders of the National Eisteddvod ; and by the long and careful preparation in various subjects, literary and musical, which they entail on the competitors, they are of inestimable value as a power for the elevation and advancement of the people.

The place of holding the National Eisteddvod is now decided upon two years in advance at a joint meeting, held during the Eisteddvod week, of the National Eisteddvod Association and of the Gorsedd of the Bards. The magnitude of the task would seem to make it impossible for none but very large towns to undertake it. But some of the most successful Eisteddvodau have been held, such as the Blaenau Festiniog one in 1898, and the Llangollen one in 1908, in small towns where the spirit of patriotism burns strongly. Though a large guarantee fund (of £1000) has to be provided locally, the competition for the honour of having the Eisteddvod is keen every year among different towns. Since 1860 the National Eisteddvod has been held alternately in North Wales and South Wales ; but it has occasionally made incursions into England, London (in 1887 and in 1909) having been regarded as within the southern sphere, and Birkenhead (in 1878) and Liverpool (in 1884 and 1900) as within the northern sphere. The town which is selected proceeds at once, by means of a local committee, to prepare a comprehensive list of subjects for competition, in music (vocal, instrumental, original composition, &c., the chief choral prize being £150 or £200[1]), literature (poetry

[1] Usually as many as six or seven large choirs, from various parts of England and Wales, each numbering about 200 voices, compete for the chief choral prize, and in some of the smaller choral competitions the number of choirs is even larger. The scene at the Eisteddvod pavilion, crowded with an audience tense with excitement listening for many hours to the successive choirs, is a very inspiring one. The chairing of the bard also invariably attracts an enthusiastic multitude. Most inspiring of all is the scene when, in some moment of excitement, the thronged audience breaks out into song, a gigantic choir of 12,000 voices singing in full-part harmony and with magnificent power the national air, *Hen Wlad fy Nhadau* ("The Land of my Fathers"). The effect is thrilling and stupendous.

and prose, translations, &c.), fine arts (painting, sculpture, carving, &c.), the total amount offered in prizes reaching a sum which varies from £1000 to £1500. The local committee is liable to an expenditure of £4500 or £5000, about £1000 of which is usually subscribed by supporters of the Eisteddvod. The committee has to provide a suitable building (generally a specially built wooden pavilion at a cost of about £1500 or more) to accommodate about 12,000 persons. It has to engage competent adjudicators for the varied competitions; and it has to raise (for the evening concerts, not for the choral competitions held in the day) an Eisteddvod choir of about 250 voices, which has to be supplemented by an efficient orchestra and eminent professional singers, with a view of giving renderings of classical works and also of new works, written specially for the occasion by Welsh composers. Grants in aid of the Eisteddvod funds are made by the National Eisteddvod Association (which was formed in 1881), a body of subscribers interested in the promotion of Welsh literature and music; and in return one-half of the Eisteddvod surplus (if any) is given to the Eisteddvod Association. With the funds at its disposal the Association publishes, in a large volume, the transactions of each Eisteddvod; and by publishing separately some of the larger prose prize-works it has enriched Welsh literature with some of its most valued treasures.

The epithet unique may be appropriately applied to the Eisteddvod, an institution which pervades the life of the Welsh nation, to whom it is peculiar and of whom it is characteristic. The Eisteddvod is not an academy of learned men, though learned men frequent it and are found among its competitors: it is a democratic institution, resting upon the broad foundations of the genius and traditions of a whole nation. It is built upon the people, by the people, and for the people. The nearest parallel to it is found in the artistic competitions of the Panhelenic games, to which it is often compared since

Matthew Arnold wrote the memorable words: "An Eisteddvod is, no doubt, a kind of Olympic meeting; and that the common people of Wales cares for such a thing shows something Greek in them, something spiritual, something humane, something (I am afraid one must add) which in the English common people is not to be found." The Greek, it is true, united physical and intellectual culture in his festivals; but there are no helots in Wales.

The roots of the Eisteddvod lie deep in the past—how deep is a question which must be relegated to the region of things unknown. Its beginnings are buried in a profound obscurity; but it is not unfair to claim for it, in some form or another, an antiquity of over a thousand years. The bards were in high repute as far back as the sixth century. The Laws of Howel the Good show that the bards were important members of the community before the tenth century.[1] In the eleventh century we find that they were organised into a separate order, and that every considerable household had its domestic bard. It is impossible to say with certainty when the first "chair" or Eisteddvod was held. There are vague traditions of one under the presidency of Taliesin at Ystum Llwydiarth as far back as 517 A.D., and of another held under the presidency of Maelgwn, Prince of Gwynedd, on the banks of the Conway, in 540. It is said that there was an Eisteddvod held in the ninth century, presided over by Geraint, usually called Y Bardd Glas, at which, it is

[1] Bardism, however, must not be confounded with Druidism, which (with its rites and ceremonies) was exterminated by the Romans. The Gorsedd ceremonies, which are such a picturesque adjunct to the modern Eisteddvod, are comparatively recent accretions. The question of the antiquity of the Gorsedd, the chief officer of which is termed the "Arch-druid," will be considered in another chapter on the Eisteddvod in the volume on *South Wales* in this series. The Gorsedd is growing steadily in popularity. Its meetings (held early in the mornings of the Eisteddvod week in the open air, "in the face of the Sun, the Eye of Light," within a circle of "Druidical" stones) are now witnessed by hundreds, even thousands, of people. Addresses are delivered by the bards. Degrees are conferred, some honorary and some as the result of examinations, in Literature and Music.

maintained, *cynghanedd* was established as a constituent of verse. We appear to be treading on firm historical ground when we come to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, who held an Eisteddvod in 1070, and is said to have issued regulations for the better government of the Order of Bards. Gruffydd ab Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd (1081–1137), who spent his early years in Ireland, where he was born during his father's exile, reformed the Welsh minstrelsy and improved the national music, introducing into Wales from Ireland, then "the land of harp and harmony," many expert harpers and a better order of instruments. An Eisteddvod was held under him, in 1100, at Caerwys, in Flintshire,—a town distinguished in the annals of the Eisteddvod,—to which "there repaired all the musicians of Wales and some also from England and Scotland." The year 1176 is memorable in the history of the Eisteddvod. In that year Rhys ab Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales (1155–1197), known to his contemporaries as the Lord Rhys ("the head and the shield and the strength of the South and all Wales"), made a great feast at Christmas in his castle at Cardigan, and he caused it to be proclaimed throughout England and Wales (and indeed, according to the Brut chronicler "through Britain and Ireland and many other countries"). Thither Rhys summoned all the poets of Wales, which were makers of songs and recorders of gentlemen's pedigrees and arms to come. In the encounters which then took place the "chair" for poetry was won by the North Wales representatives, while the men of the south were accounted the best in music, for which also a "chair" was awarded. That the standard of these competitions was very high is proved by extant poems of the competing bards and by the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis (who lived about 1146–1220) of the skill of the Welsh of his days in literature and in music. The Cymry were now in the habit of holding periodical Eisteddvodau, at which the bards and musicians showed their

skill to admiring critics. Bardism had become an honourable calling, and excellence in poetical composition was thought not unworthy of nobles and princes. Persons of no less influence than Owen Cyveiliog, Prince of Powys (1150–1197), warrior and poet, and Howel (one of the sons of Owen Gwynedd), who was on the throne of Gwynedd for a brief period, aspired to the laurel crown. The poems which have been preserved show how eminent the two princes were in their poetic gifts. Numerous Eisteddvodau were held in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, at some of which Davydd ab Gwilym, whom George Borrow has exalted among the six great poets of the world, took part. In 1451 an epoch-making Eisteddvod was held at Carmarthen, by permission of Henry VI., and under the patronage of Gruffydd ab Nicholas, one of the Yorkist adherents killed at the battle of Mortimer's Cross. At this Eisteddvod the poet Davydd ab Edmwnt—a native of Hanmer, in the detached ("English Maelor") district of Flintshire—succeeded in imposing upon the bards those wonderfully complex and artificial twenty-four metres which have shackled the thoughts of many generations of poets.

The accession of the Tudors to the English throne was the dawn of a golden age for the Welsh bards. Several Eisteddvodau were held in the reign of Henry VII. In 1523 Henry VIII. granted a commission to hold an Eisteddvod at Caerwys. At this Eisteddvod, which was presided over by Sir William Gruffydd, Sir Roger Salisbury, and Richard ap Howel ap Jeuan Vychan of Mostyn, certificates were granted to certain "expert" bards exempting them from the operations of various legal enactments which it had been found necessary to make in order to restrain the "intolerable multitude" of travelling minstrels and musical vagabonds who infested the land. Degrees were conferred on fifty-five candidates (of whom the most notable was the eminent bard Tudur Aled), including twenty harpers. In 1568 another great

Eisteddvod was held at Caerwys. The harp[1] won at this Eisteddvod may still be seen at the Mostyn Hall library, at which is also preserved the commission granted by Queen Elizabeth for holding the Eisteddvod. This document is so instructive for the light it throws on the manner of holding the festival in the sixteenth century that it is reproduced here at length:—

THE COMMISSION OF THE CAERWYS EISTEDDVOD 1568.

By the Quene.

Elizabeth by the grace of god of England ffraũnce and Ireland Quene defendor of the fayth &c. To our trustie and right welbeloued Sr Richard Bulkley knight, Sr Rees Gruffith knight, Ellice Price Esquior doctor in Cyvill Lawe, and one of our Counsaill in our marches of wales william mostyn, Jeuan lloyd of Yale, John Salusbury of Ruge, Rees Thomas, Maurice wynne, wiłłm Lewis, Peres mostyn, Owen John ap holl vaughan, John wiłłm ap John, John Lewis owen, moris gruffyth, Symound Theloall, John Gruffyth, Ellice ap wm lloyd, Robt Pulestõn, harry aparry, william Glynne and Rees hughes Esquiors and to euery of them, Greating

Wheras it is come to the knowledge of the Lorde President and other our said Cunsaill in our marches of wales that vagraunt and idle persons naming theim selfes mynstrelles Rithmers and Barthes, are lately growen into such an intollerable multitude within the principalitee of north wales, that not only gentlemen and other by theire shameles disorders are oftentymes disquieted in theire habitacions / But also thexpert mynstrelles and musicions in tonge and Coñyng therby much discouraged to travail in thexercise and practize of theire knowledges and also not a litle hyndred in theire Lyvinges and prefermentes The refourmacion wherof and the putting of those people in order the said Lorde President and Counsaill have thought verey necessarye and knowing you to be men both of wysdome and vpright dealing and also of Experience and good Knowledg in the scyence / have apounted and aucthorized you to be Commissyoners for that purpose / And forasmuch as our said Counsaill of late travayling in some parte of the said principalite had perfect vnderstanding by credible report that thaccustomed place for thexecucion of the like Commissyon / hath bene heretofore at Cayroes in our Countie of fflynt, and that william mostyn Esquior and his auncestors have had the gyfte and bestowing of the sylver harpe appertayning to the Cheff of that facultie / and that a yeares warning at the least hath bene acustomed to be geaven of thassembly / and execucion of the like Commissyon Our

[1] It is a small silver harp, 6½ inches high, and was evidently made expressly for this Eisteddvod. It is in its original condition, except the back, which has been made new, probably in the eighteenth century. An illustration appears on plate facing p. 113.—ED.

said Counsaill have therfore apoynted thexecucion of this Commissyon to be at the said towne of Cayroes the monday next after the feast of the blessed Trynitee which shalbe in the yeare of our Lorde god / 1568.

And therfore we require and commaund you by the aucthoritee of these presentes not only to cause open proclamacions to be made in all ffayors, markettes, Townes, and other places of assembly within our Counties of Anglizey Carnarvon, meryonneth, denbigh and fflynt / that all and euery person and persons . that entend to maynteigne theire lyvinges by name or Colour of mynstrelles, Rithmers, or Barthes, within the Talaith of Aberfrowe comprehending the said fyve Shires, shalbe and appeare before you the said daye and place to showe furth theire learninges accordingly / But also that you xxtie xixen xviijen xvijen xvjen xven xiiijen xiijen xije xjn xen ix viij vij or vj of you, wherof youe Sr Richard Bulkley, Sr Rees Gruffith, Ellice Price, and wm mostyn Esquiors or iijee or ijo of you to be of the nomber to repayre to the said place the daye aforsaid / And calling to you such expert men in the said facultie of the welshe musick . as to you shall be thought convenient to proceade to thexecucion of the premisses and to admytt such and so many as by your wisdomes and Knowledges you shall fynde worthy into / and vnder the degrees, heretofore in semblable sort to vse exercise or folowe the scyences and facultes of theire professyons in such decent order as shall appertaigne to eche of theire degrees / and as your discrecions and wisdomes shall prescribe vnto theim geaving straight monycion and commandment in our name, and on our behalf to the rest not worthy that they returne to some honest Labour and due Exercise, such as they be most apte vnto for maynteanunce of theire lyvinges vpon paine to be taken as sturdy and idle vacaboûndes and to be vsed according to the Lawes and Statutes provided in that behalf / Letting you wytt our said Counsaill looke for advertisement by due certificatt at your handes of your doinges in thexecucion of the said premisses forseeing in any wise that vpon the said assembly the peas and good order be observed and kept accordingly ascertayning you that the said wiffm mostyn hath promised to see furnyture and thinges necessary provided for that assembly at the place aforsaid Yeven vnder our Signet at our Citie of Chester the xxiijth of October the nynth yeare of our Raigne/

Signed her highnes Counsaill
in the marches of wales.

A document of no less interest than the foregoing is a petition—also preserved in the Mostyn Hall library—for another Eisteddvod made in 1594 by a number of gentlemen from North Wales, including William Salisbury (the translator of the New Testament into Welsh), and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, by whom the old complaint is made that the "worthier sorte" of bards are injured in their calling by the multitude of unskilful ones—

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"loyterers and drones"—who travelled through Wales and the marches. From this petition[1] we learn that the Eisteddvodic prizes granted at the time were "for poetrie the sylver chayre, for harpeing the silver harpe, for Crowthinge the sylver Crowth, & for the atcane or singinge the silver tonge."

During the eighteenth century Welsh nationality was at a low ebb and the Eisteddvod was neglected. A few, however, were held in the latter part of the century—at Corwen, St. Asaph, Caerwys, &c., under the auspices of the Gwyneddigion Society, which was established in 1771. The revival of national feeling which followed the French Revolution was felt in Wales, as elsewhere, and affected the Eisteddvod. It was nursed into life after a long winter of neglect. Under the auspices of the Cambrian Society of Dyved, a very successful Eisteddvod was held at Carmarthen in 1819, and Eisteddvodau followed annually at Wrexham, Carmarthen, Brecon, &c. An Eisteddvod memorable in the literary annals of Wales was held at Llangollen in 1858; and it was a singularly happy idea on the part of the patriotic inhabitants of that romantic town to apply, at the Carnarvon Eisteddvod of 1906, for the Eisteddvod of 1908—the Jubilee year of the previous great Eisteddvod at Llangollen—an appeal which was unanimously granted. A new movement began at the Denbigh Eisteddvod in 1860, when it was arranged that the National Eisteddvod should be held alternately henceforth in North Wales and South Wales. This arrangement has been followed with most happy results. In North Wales the National Eisteddvod has during the last twenty-one years been three times at Carnarvon (which has the unique advantage of possessing a permanent Eisteddvod pavilion), twice at Bangor, twice at Rhyl, once at Wrexham—where also this year's (1912)

[1] It is printed for the first time in Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (Historical Manuscripts Commission), vol. i. pp. 293–295.

gathering is to be—once at Llandudno, once at Colwyn Bay, and once at Blaenau Festiniog. There are indications that the Wrexham Festival in 1912, for which an unusually comprehensive and suitable programme has been prepared, will be one of the most noteworthy in the history of the national institution.

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Small Silver Harp at Mostyn Hall.

THE POETRY OF NORTH WALES

By Professor Sir Edward Anwyl, M.A.

In Welsh literature, as in Welsh matters generally, the division of Wales into North and South is merely a conventional one, and frequently tends to obscure the real lines of Welsh national development. From the historical and scientific, as well as from the national point of view, Wales has learnt the importance of emphasising her undoubted unity, and in the literary sphere it is impossible adequately to trace the evolution of Welsh literature, unless this unity be ever borne in mind. However, as the present work has, for very intelligible reasons, been divided into two volumes, one dealing with North and the other with South Wales, an attempt will here be made to show the part taken by North Wales in Welsh poetry. It need hardly be stated that in the creation and maintenance of Welsh literature, the northern part of the Principality has played a most honourable part, and it is a pleasure to record its noble service.

In the courts of the Welsh princes, poetry had an honoured place. Among the court officers was a bard of the household (*bardd teulu*), but there was also a bard of even higher rank. In the hall of the court the "chaired bard" (*y bardd cadeiriog*) sat next to the judge of the court, while the household bard sat on one hand of the chief of the household (*penteulu*). The following provisions of the Welsh laws will serve to explain the position of the court bards:—

ON THE BARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, HIS PRIVILEGE, HIS OFFICE, HIS DUTY.

1. The eighth (court officer) is the bard of the household.
2. He is to have his land free; and his horse in attendance, and his linen clothing from the Queen and his woollen clothing from the King.
3. He is to sit at the three principal festivals next the chief of the household, who is to place the harp in his hand.
4. He is to have the clothes of the steward at the three principal festivals.
5. When a song is desired, the chaired bard is to begin; the first song of God, and the second of the King who shall own the palace; or, if there be none, let him sing of another king. After the chaired bard, the bard of the household is to sing three songs on various subjects.
6. If the Queen desire a song, let the bard of the household go to sing to her without limitation in a low voice, so that the hall may not be disturbed by him.
7. He is to have a cow or an ox from the booty obtained by the household from a border-country, after a third has gone to the King: and he is, when they share the spoil, to sing the "Monarchy of Britain" to them.
8. He is to have a throw-board of the bone of a sea animal from the King, and a gold ring from the Queen.
9. His lodging is with the chief of the household.
10. His protection is to convey an offender to the chief of the household. Others say, it is from the first song to the last.
11. When he shall go with other bards, he is to have the share of two.

12. His "sarhad" (penalty, if insulted) is six kine and six score of silver.
13. His worth is six score and six kine, to be augmented once.

The position of chaired bard was gained after a bardic contest or "ymryson," of which we have a specimen (probably only a fragment) in a poem given in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, a dialogue in verse between Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, a poet of the twelfth century, and Seisyll Bryffwrch, for the chief minstrelsy of Madog ab Maredudd, Prince of Powys. It will thus be seen that the key to the position of poetry in the early literature of Wales is its established position in the social system, a position which it seems to have held, in kindred fashion, in Celtic countries generally. The bardic office appears to have been combined with other services, such as the narration of stories at the court carousals, as may be gathered from the story of Gwydion in the Mabinogi of Math ab Mathonwy, the collection and arrangement of the court pedigrees, and the commemoration in verse and prose of the prowess of the ancestors of the ruling family. In the times of Celtic heathenism, the poetic and the priestly offices were in close association, and doubtless so continued in the days of early British Christianity. The court and the monastery were bound by many ties, for the British saints, as we know from their genealogies, were often of princely stock. The composition of hymns, for example, flourished at the court and the monastery alike, and the products of both types of literary centre were not infrequently in course of time blended together.

To understand fully the early history of the poetry of North Wales, we have to picture a community in which, in spite of occasional conflict, the courts and the religious fraternities combined to give poetic expression to their patriotism and piety. The "Bangorau" of Beuno in Clynnog, Deiniol in Bangor, Cybi in Holyhead, Seiriol in

Penmon, Cyndeyrn (Kentigern) and Asa in St. Asaph, Cadfan in Towyn, and the monasteries of Bardsey, Beddgelert, and Bangor-is-y-coed (while it lasted), equally with the courts of Gwynedd and Powys formed gathering-grounds of secular and ecclesiastical legend and centres of literary activity, oral and written, of which we have now but the fragments. It is to be regretted that none of the poetic fragments have come down to us in pre-Norman MSS.; but such portions as we have show, on close analysis, many signs of their composite character, and the inclusion in them of nuclei unmistakably connected with some of the ancient centres above named. The oldest portions of the Black Book of Carmarthen (twelfth century), the Book of Aneirin (thirteenth century), the Book of Taliessin (early fourteenth century), the Red Book of Hergest (fourteenth and early fifteenth century), bear close relations to the other surviving products of the pre-Norman period, such as the early genealogies, the Chronicle of Nennius in its various recensions, and the Annales Cambriæ. Especially interesting in this connection are the lists of famous battles, of which fragments are embedded in the surviving poems—battles for the most part fought between the Britons and the invading English, some in the north with the men of Deira and Bernicia, others in the conflicts of the Severn Valley and of Southern Britain. At times, too, these ancient battles, as, for example, the battle of Catraeth, formed themes that lent themselves to fresh treatment in the light of the legends that had grown up around them. Sometimes, as in the "Gododin" and its associated "Gorchanau," fragments of more than one poem on a favourite theme became fused together; sometimes, as in the case of the battle of Goddeu, what may have been originally a real battle became transformed into a magic battle of trees and flowers. In the composition of the early heroic poetry in question, North Wales seems to be very well represented in the fragments that have survived. The topographical references

of the poems are indeed in many cases to North Britain, but the poems themselves are clearly the work of those poets of the courts of North Wales whom interest or admiration had led to commemorate the prowess of the ancestors of their princely or saintly patrons, who for generations after they had left the zones of the Clyde and the Forth continued to style themselves in their pedigrees "The Men of the North."

It is thus that the early poetry of North Wales comes to contain allusions to the battles of Catraeth, Arderydd, Argoed Llwyfain, Gwenystrad, and Goddeu, and to the heroic names of Urien Rheged, Owain ab Urien, Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, Tudfwlch, and even Arthur himself. This ancient pre-Norman poetry, though in form very largely consisting of eulogy and elegy, was in spirit characterised above all by a patriotic glow, by strength of diction, by dignity of speech, and by a sense of style which is a clear indication that behind it lies a long history of poetic composition, not only oral but written. A terse, accurate, vivid poetic style, such as the "Gododin" for example shows, is not the product of a day. The poets around whose names the oldest remains of Welsh poetry have gathered are Aneirin, Taliessin, and Llywarch Hen; the two former gave rise to imitators in Gwynedd, the latter in Powys. Those who imitated Aneirin appear to have viewed him for the most part as a poet of the epic spirit: the imitators of Taliessin came to regard him, on the one hand as a seer, on the other, in the light of his legend, as a man who had passed through various metamorphoses, and one into whose mouth could therefore be fittingly placed the rudiments of the natural science of the monasteries. Llywarch Hen's imitators, again, seem to have associated him with the poetry of lament over the departure of the glory of the past, over the loss of youth, and of the magnificence of ancient halls and fortresses, over the departure of summer and the death of heroes. He came to be regarded as the typical poet of old age

and of winter, of longing and of sorrow; and it was by some imitators of him that were composed the series of stanzas known as "Englynion y Beddau," the "Stanzas of the Graves," found in the Black Book of Carmarthen. Owing to its frequent pathos and the vivid and sympathetic treatment of nature which this body of poetry often shows, it fills a most honourable place in Welsh literature, and affords, through its lyric and subjective tone, a most valuable supplement to the heroic poetry of war and conflict.

The pre-Norman nucleus of poetry to which reference has been made, the product of the court and of the monastery, overflowed through its imitative accretions far into the post-Norman period. Side by side with its later forms there has fortunately come down to us a fine body of historical poetry of definite authorship, which was connected with the ruling houses of Wales from Gruffudd ab Cynan to the fall of his descendant Llewelyn ab Gruffudd, and which is clearly the representative of a long professional tradition of court poetry, similar to that to which reference has already been made. This poetry is generally known in Wales as that of "Y Gogynfeirdd," a name given to it by the compilers of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. It consists almost entirely of eulogies and elegies, written in honour of members of the ruling Welsh families, together with some religious poems. Doubtless much other poetry existed at this time in Wales on a humbler plane, in addition to the pseudonymous poetry already mentioned. In this body of Welsh historical poetry North Wales is very well represented. We have, for example, Meilyr of Anglesey (1120–1160), the bard of Gruffudd ab Cynan, upon whom he wrote an elegy that still exists, and the author of two other poems called "Trahaearn a Meilyr" and "Marwysgafn Veilyr Brydyt" (the death-bed poem of the poet Meilyr). Meilyr's compositions are characterised by a certain terseness and stateliness of diction, and it may

be said here that this is one of the most marked characteristics of this body of Welsh poetry, as might have been expected from the professional circle in which it was composed. The softer touches of pathos and delight in nature only reveal themselves in this historical poetry for the most part incidentally. Yet, that the sense of natural beauty was not absent from Welsh poetry at this time, is abundantly shown by the poetry of Meilyr's son Gwalchmai (1150–1190), the poet of Gruffudd ab Cynan's son Owen Gwynedd, among whose poems is found a fine composition entitled "Gorhoffedd Gwalchmai" (the Delight of Gwalchmai). This poem shows a genuine insight into nature and a singular delicacy of expression. The remaining poems are mainly in honour of Owen Gwynedd and his sons Dafydd and Rhodri, while a Prince of Powys, Madog ab Maredudd, receives a share of praise in two poems. One poem is entitled "Gwalchmai's Dream," and another is addressed to the poet's wife "Eve."

The next poet in this series, Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (1150–1200), was connected with the court of Powys. For the most part he sang the praises of Madog ab Maredudd, Prince of Powys, and his house. In him, too, the characteristics of technical skill and terseness are most marked. The most striking poem is that in praise of Eve, daughter of Maredudd, which shows a remarkable sense of beauty, and which gives a vivid picture of the elegance of the mediæval court life of Wales. In addition to the poems by him written in honour of his patrons, we have a poem to another Powys prince, Owen Cyfeiliog, the "Ymryson" for the chief minstrelsy of Powys, a poem in praise of St. Tysilio, the patron saint of Meifod, near Mathrafal, the seat of the court of Powys, and a hymn to the Deity. Though connected with Powys, Cynddelw also sang in praise of Owen Gwynedd. Owen Cyveiliog (1150–1197) was himself a brilliant Welsh poet, and among his poems is one called "Hirlas Ewein," "The Mead-horn of Owen," commemorating his former comrades

in battle. This poem has much of the spirit of Aneirin's "Gododin," and shows signs of its influence. That the muse flourished even in Welsh princely circles is shown also by the work of Hywel, son of Owen Gwynedd (1140–1172), a poet conspicuous by his sense of natural beauty. Owen Gwynedd, a prince of singular energy and zeal for his country, inspired the patriotic song of many poets, and there has survived a poem in his honour by Daniel ab Llosgwrn Mew (1150–1200), and one to David, his son, by Gwilym Ryvel (1160–1220).

Another poet, who belonged to the same zone, was Llywarch ab Llewelyn. He wrote mainly in honour of Owen Gwynedd, his sons Rhodri and David, and of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth (Llewelyn the Great), a prince of remarkable power and statesmanship. This prince was the central figure, too, in the patriotic poetry of Dafydd Benfras (1190–1240), Einion ab Gwgawn (1200–1260), and Einion ab Gwalchmai (1170–1220). The bravery and generosity of Llewelyn and his success in his country's cause inspired the patriotic muse, too, of Einion Wan (1200–1250), who composed an elegy on his death; of Gwgawn (1190–1240), of Elidyr Sais (1160–1220), and of Llewelyn Vardd (1230–1280). This period is characterised also by several religious poems, the work of Meilir, son of the poet Gwalchmai (1170–1220); his brother Einion, Elidyr Sais (author of an ode to Lent), and Llewelyn Vardd, who commemorated St. Cadfan, and who also composed a poem on the "Signs preceding the Day of Judgment," a typical mediæval subject. The poems composed by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr and Seisyll (1160–1210) in honour of the Lord Rhys of South Wales, show that the poets of North Wales felt, even in the Middle Ages, a more than local patriotism. Loyalty to the reigning dynasty of Gwynedd is shown, too, in the poems of Bleddyn Vardd (1250–1290). Most of his poems are elegies addressed to various members of the royal house of Gwynedd, and especially to Llewelyn ab

Gruffudd, the last of the Welsh princes. In him, as in the foregoing poets, we note the characteristic stateliness of diction and pointed terseness of speech of the court-poets. In these poets one of the secrets of their brevity and conciseness is their fondness for significant compound words, to the formation of which the genius of the language readily lent itself. It is not, however, to princes only that this poet composed his elegies, for there has survived among his poems one upon his fellow-poet Dafydd Benfras. The poetry of the same zone is further represented by Gruffudd ab Gwrgeneu (1210–1260), author of an elegy on Gruffudd ab Cynau the younger, the grandson of Owen Gwynedd, and of verses to his friends; by Einiawn ab Madawg Rhahawd (1230–1270), author of an ode to Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and by Hywel Foel ab Griffri (1240–1280), author of two poems addressed to Owen ab Gruffudd ab Llewelyn when imprisoned. The chief poet, however, of North Wales in the age of Llewelyn ab Gruffudd was Gruffudd ab Yr Ynad Coch (Gruffudd, son of the Red Judge), who flourished from 1260–1300, and who composed a remarkable elegy upon Llewelyn, which is one of the finest compositions of the kind in the Welsh language. One of its features is the abandonment of the somewhat archaic bardic diction of the age for a simpler and more natural style. In this the author is the forerunner of the next generation, for with the death of Llewelyn and the vanishing of a court circle, North Welsh poetry enters upon a new period.

It is significant of the vitality of poetry in Wales that the loss of independence meant no death-blow to the Welsh muse. The poets found no lack of patriotic patrons, and the most notable change in their poetry after the fall of Llewelyn was towards love and nature instead of war and the battle-field. The spirit of romance was in the ascendant. The romantic literature of Wales was eagerly read, and the great abbeys became centres for the translation into Welsh of some of the romances of the Continent.

The poems of this time abound in allusions to characters of the classical, the Charlemagne, the Arthurian, and the Tristram cycles. The social factor in poetic production was, indeed, as strong as ever, but the severe classic realism of the older type tended to be replaced by greater imaginative liberty and naturalness of diction. In North Wales the chief successors of the princes in the patronage of poetry were the family of Tudur ab Gronw of Penmynydd in Anglesey, the ancestors of Henry Tudor. It is of interest to note that long before a member of this house ascended to the throne of England, his ancestors had shown a truly royal spirit in their support of the Welsh muse, when the court of Aberffraw was no more. The chief poet who was associated with the Penmynydd family was Gruffudd ab Maredudd, many of whose poems in their honour are still extant. He and others created in the Isle of Anglesey an atmosphere of poetic inspiration into which men like Dafydd ab Gwilym, Gruffudd Gryg, and even Iolo Goch entered. Though he was not a native of Anglesey, it is impossible to say how much Dafydd ab Gwilym, that epoch-making poet of Wales, gained from his sojourn in a circle where the muse of North Wales had found a worthy home. Gruffudd ab Maredudd has three odes addressed "To a fair woman," and there are two other odes similarly entitled among the poems of Gruffudd ab D. Tudur (1290–1340). The same theme shows itself in the works of Goronwy Ddu (1320–1370), another poet of the same zone, who wrote an elegy on Goronwy Ddu ab Tudur. Like many other Welsh poets of this time, Gruffudd ab Maredudd wrote religious poems to God and to the Virgin Mary, while the new spirit, that was leading the poets to seek a wider range of subjects, shows itself in a poem which he wrote to Chester Cross. In this period, too, we begin to see reflected in Welsh poetry the place in the social life of Wales of the great abbeys, as, for example, in the poem of Casnodyn (1290–1340) to Ieuan, Abbot of Aberconwy. Another symptom

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of the spread of new influences is the growing prominence of music in certain Welsh circles, a prominence reflected also in some of the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym. The diocese of Bangor seems to have been especially associated with the new movement, and, in a poem by Ierwerth Beli (1290–1340), addressed to the Bishop of Bangor, a complaint is made that he neglected bards and supported minstrels. Other minor North Wales poets of this time were Llywarch Llaetty, Goronwy Gyrriawg, Sefnyn, Iorwerth ab y Cyrriawg, and Llywarch y Nam ; the first and the last of this series being poets of Powys. We have probably another Anglesey poet in Mab y Clochyddyn (1330–1370), who, like other writers of his time, showed skill in his treatment of the elegy. From this poem and others of the period we see clearly that the old tradition of the poetic literature of Gwynedd had not only been maintained unbroken, but had entered upon a new era of active life.

It was not, however, in Anglesey alone that the poetic tradition of North Wales was to be continued. It will be presently seen how large a part in the preservation of Welsh poetry was played by the north-eastern region of Wales. The "three brothers of Marchwiail," near Wrexham, Madog Benfras, Ednyfed, and Llywelyn (1320–1350), doubtless, gave valued aid in this work, and we have in the "Myvyrian Archaiology," a fine specimen of the eulogistic poetry of the type then addressed to women, in a poem by Hywel ap Einion Lygliw (1330–1370), dedicated to Myfanwy Fechan o Gastell Dinas Bran, near Llangollen. Nor was the new movement confined to North-East Wales, for one of the best poets of the time was Llywelyn Goch ab Meurig Hen (1330–1370), from Nannau near Dolgelly, the bardic teacher, it is said, of Iolo Goch. This Llywelyn was the author of a singularly beautiful elegy upon Lleucu Llwyd of Pennal, near Machynlleth. Llywelyn Goch, like others of his contemporaries, appears to have come into contact with the

Penmynydd zone of Anglesey, and we find a poem addressed by him to Goronwy ab Tudur. Another interesting poem of his composition is that addressed to Llywelyn, Abbot of Strata Florida or Ystrad Fflur, which makes it evident that the abbeys were then fully alive to the importance of encouraging poetry as well as prose, as vehicles for the expression of the nation's mind.

The new era which showed itself in Welsh poetry at this time was characterised by the adoption of a new metre, that of the "cywydd," composed of a series of rhyming couplets consisting of lines of seven syllables each, one line of the couplet ending in an unaccented syllable, the other in an accented. It was immaterial which of the two lines came first. This metre became extremely popular, and Gruffudd Gryg, Dafydd ab Gwilym, Llywelyn Goch ab Meurig Hen and Iolo Goch were leading pioneers in its employment. On the material, as distinguished from the formal side, the main features of the poetry of North Wales in the period that now follows, is the growth, side by side with the traditional poetry of elegy and eulogy, of the poetry of love, of minute description (especially in poems of petition and gratitude), of satire, of bardic controversy, of reflection upon the course of the world, and sometimes of sympathy with the lot of the toiler. The traditional patriotism of Welsh poetry shows itself in poems of two types, on the one hand in those written in honour of Welsh leaders such as Owen Glyndwr, on the other in the "Brudiau" or vaticinations, a curious form of verse-literature, which was popular not only in Wales but in England. In some writers, such as Iolo Goch, the political aspect of the poetry is very marked. The anti-monastic attitude, too, that is reflected in Dafydd ab Gwilym is conspicuous also in the satirical references of some of the North Wales poets of this time, in spite of the literary sympathy of some of the abbeys.

Where poetry touches nature is generally in the love

songs, when animals or the forces of nature are sent as love-messengers, or else in a poem of request when the animal that is asked for is poetically described. The main tendencies of the period in North Wales are well seen in the case of the poetry of Iolo Goch, Rhys Goch Eryri and Dafydd Nanmor. Iolo Goch wrote in honour of Edward III., Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and especially Owen Glyndwr, to whom he was a close friend. He wrote also in honour of certain members of the families of Tref y Castell and Penmynydd in Anglesey, so that he, too, had links of contact with the Anglesey zone. There is extant, also, an elegy written by him upon Dafydd ab Gwilym. Like other poets of his day, he composed vaticinations, and wrote a number of poems making requests for various gifts, especially horses. The description of horses came to be a favourite subject with Welsh poets about this time. In addition to the afore-mentioned elegy on Dafydd ab Gwilym, we have one upon his poetic teacher, Llywelyn Goch ab Meurig Hen, and another on an Anglesey bard, Ithel Ddu. One of the satirical poems paints an unflattering picture of a Grey Friar from Chester. In one of his few love-poems he despatches a Robin Red-breast as a love-messenger. Among the religious poems we find compositions bearing the titles "To the Deity," "To Christ," "To Christ's Sufferings," "To St. Anna," "To the Virgin Mary," "To St. Peter," "To St. David," "To St. Winifred and the Well," "To the Mass," "To the World," and the like. Iolo Goch's best poem, however, is that entitled "I'r Llafurwr" (to the Toiler), which shows true poetic sympathy with the lot of man. Rhys Goch of Eryri (fl. 1380–1420), and Dafydd Nanmor (fl. 1400–1440), were both natives of Beddgelert. They appear to have been rivals in love though differing in age, and one of the best known poems of Rhys Goch Eryri is one addressed to a fox, asking him to kill the peacock that was the love-messenger of his rival Dafydd Nanmor to a certain Gwen o'r Ddol. Dafydd Nanmor

had a son Rhys Nanmor, who in turn had a son, Dafydd Nanmor, and all three were poets, so that it is not always easy to determine to which Dafydd Nanmor a poem is to be assigned. Though Rhys Goch Eryri and Dafydd Nanmor were natives of North Wales, yet the poetic zone in which they flourished was mainly that of Cardiganshire, many of their poems being composed in honour of the families of Gogerddan and Y Tywyn. Occasional poems show a tendency to strive after the imitation of Dafydd ab Gwilym. Rhys Goch Eryri had a bardic controversy with the religious and almost ascetic poet Sion Cent, who inveighed against his love-poetry. Rhys in a fine poem successfully vindicated the freedom of the Muse. The instinct of the Welsh muse has always been towards a genial and catholic breadth of view, and Rhys Goch's poem gives noble expression to that instinct.

The poetic tradition of North-East Wales was carried on by Meredydd ab Rhys, priest of Ruabon, Guttyn Owain, and Gutto'r Glyn, as well as by Llywelyn ab Guttyn (1460–1500). In their day the Abbey of Glyn Egwestl or Valle Crucis near Llangollen, gave signal encouragement to Welsh poetry. It should be noted, too, that there was also in Montgomeryshire another zone of poetry, more in touch with the South Wales poets than those previously named. The great centre of literary activity in Montgomeryshire was the Abbey of Strata Marcella (in Welsh Ystrad Marchell), at Guilsfield, near Welshpool. Much of the later Powys poetry in imitation of the style of Llywarch Hen, and Powys stories such as "The Dream of Rhonabwy," as their topographical allusions seem to indicate, were probably composed here. This Abbey, too, was a great gathering ground of Welsh documents, and it is not improbable that the Red Book of Hergest was here written. Prominent names connected with the poetic zone of Powys were Howel Dafi, Howel Swrdwal, Gruffudd ab Llewelyn Fychan, and the poetess Gwerfyl Mechain. Gutto'r Glyn and Howel Dafi

were contemporaries, and had an "Ymrysson" or bardic controversy. Gutto'r Glyn's poems were mainly political in character. He has a poem on the Battle of Banbury, and among the personages of whom he writes in other poems are Lord Herbert, William Vaughan, the Chamberlain of North Wales, and Edward IV. Like others of the North Wales poets, such as Bedo Aerddren, who came from the neighbourhood of Llanrwst, Guttyn Owain (about 1480) wrote poems in honour of women. It is remarkable how widespread and permanent had been the influence of Dafydd ab Gwilym in this respect, and we see this influence perpetuated in Guttyn Owain's pupil Dafydd ab Edmwnt, who lived for some time at Wepre, near Hawarden.

The social aspect of Welsh poetry is very marked in the case of this writer, and thus it has been the means of preserving for us much family history from the districts wherewith he was connected. The poetry of Wales, by its intimate relations to the Welsh social order, is a mine of information on the social phenomena and civilisation of the country, and the past of many a Welsh family is made vivid by these records. In addition to the Abbey of Valle Crucis, that of Basingwerk near Holywell, through some of its abbots, seems to have befriended poets. Howel Dafi, though a native of Montgomeryshire, appears to have composed most of his poetry in honour of South Wales families, and similarly Howel Rheinallt, who was associated with the zone of Tywyn in Cardiganshire. It is remarkable that Merionethshire should have supplied so few poets at this time, though Nannau near Dolgelly was a friendly centre: the name of Tudur Penllyn stands almost alone. The powerful effect upon the production of Welsh poetry of social encouragement is well exemplified in the case of the poets who clustered around that patriotic Welshman, "Syr William o'r Penrhyn," who died in 1531. Among the poets who had been associated with him, we find the names of Robin Ddu (a prominent

composer of vaticinations), Cynfrig ap Dafydd Goch, Gutto'r Glyn, Tudur Penllyn, Tudur Aled, Lewis Mon, Hugh Llwyd ap Dafydd, Dafydd Llwyd ab Llewelyn ab Gruffudd, Gruffudd ap Tudur ap Howel, Dafydd ab Edmwnt, Lewis Daron, Gwilym ab Sefnyn, and others. It will be readily seen from this list that the encouragement in question must have been long continued, and remarkably extensive in its range. One of the poets mentioned in the list, Dafydd ab Edmwnt, was a pupil of Guttyn Owain, and the teacher of another poet Tudur Aled.

The history of the next brilliant period in North Wales poetry is that of the evolution of the Denbighshire school. Dafydd ab Edmwnt, a skilful and ingenious poet, is best known in connection with the rules which he, in connection with his friend Llawdden, a poet of South Wales, drew up at the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451, to regulate bardic graduation and to exclude from the patronage of the Welsh gentry those inferior verse-writers who had no bardic credentials. In his own poetry, Dafydd ab Edmwnt partly sang as social exigencies required, and partly in imitation of Dafydd ab Gwilym. In addition to a tendency to minute description, the epigrammatic couplet now comes to be a marked feature of Welsh poetry, and great stress, too, is laid on purity and accuracy of diction. The Welsh language is greatly indebted for the high level of its literary quality to the classical spirit of these poets. Tudur Aled, of Llansannan in Denbighshire, the pupil of Dafydd Edmwnt, brought the poetry of epigram and description to a high pitch of perfection. His descriptions of horses are especially famous. It was probably in the elegy, however, that the true spirit of poetry found best expression in the poets of his school. In this way, while the social aspects of Welsh poetry were preserved, opportunity was found for the introduction of that universal element without which true poetry cannot exist. It

may be here noted that the two leading families that patronised poetry in North-East Wales at this time were those of Mostyn and Rug. The mantle of Tudur Aled fell on Gruffudd Hiraethog, a native of the same district of Llansannan, and he, too, in turn had four distinguished pupils, Simwnt Fychan, William Cynwal, Sion Tudur, and William Lleyn. From one of his elegies which is dated, Gruffudd Hiraethog appears to have been alive in 1545. Like most of the poets of this time, William Lleyn seems to have had a bardic controversy, in his case with the poet Owen Gwynedd; but his best poems are undoubtedly his elegies, of which one, in the form of a dialogue between the living and the dead, was written on his old master Gruffudd Hiraethog. Several of his poems bear dates from 1558--1573 (inclusive). Among those to whom he wrote were Bishop Morgan of St. Asaph, the translator of the Bible into Welsh, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, Dr. Ellis Price, and Simwnt Vychan, the poet. The social element combined with marked epigrammatic skill was a striking feature of the poetry of William Lleyn. Though a native of Lleyn in Carnarvonshire, his poetic life was mainly lived in association with the Denbighshire zone. Another contemporary of William Lleyn, whose poems bear dates, was Lewis Menai, a bard of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire. The poet Simwnt Vychan was himself a skilful poet, but is best known as the author of a metrical grammar. Sion Tudur of Wigfair near St. Asaph was inclined to a didactic vein, and to reflection on the course of life and of the world. He appears to have had a bardic controversy with William Cynwal. Another poet, Sion Brwynog, who was alive in 1551, belonged rather to the Anglesey and Carnarvonshire zone, and wrote in honour of the families of Cochwillan, Glyn Llifon and Bodychen. William Cynwal, whose social poetry shows a wider range of friends, is best known through his bardic controversy with Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, the translator of the Psalms into Welsh verse. This translation

was not the first attempt of the kind, for a few psalms had been translated by Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug, as well as by Sion Tudur and Edward Kyffin, and all the psalms had been rendered mainly into the stricter Welsh metres by Captain William Myddleton (Gwilym Canoldref), all of whom were North Wales poets. Other poets, too, of this highly active period were Lewis Dwnn, the Welsh herald (1565–1616), Dafydd Trevor, Edward ap Raff (who wrote in 1602 an elegy on Sion Tudur), Hywel Cilan, Huw Lleyn, Morris Dwyfech (three poets chiefly of the Carnarvonshire zone), Robert ab Ifan, an Anglesey poet, Ieuan ap Tudur Penllyn, and certain Montgomeryshire poets such as Edward Urien, a friend of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, Huw Arwystli (fl. 1540–1580), who sang mainly in honour of families in the neighbourhood of Cyfeiliog, Llangurig and Llanidloes, and Gruffudd Hafren, as well as Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn. It was the great literary activity and interest of this period that made possible the translation of the Bible into Welsh, and that led to the perfecting of the version made. It was the same activity, also, that made possible the Welsh Grammars of Dr. Griffith Roberts of Milan, written in Welsh, and the grammars of Dr. John Dafydd Rhys, and Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, written in Latin. The Eisteddfodau of Caerwys held in 1524 and 1568, while they restrained in some degree the incompetent, gave a real stimulus to the competent poets, nor must it be forgotten that Wales felt a certain pride that a family of princes in whose veins ran Welsh blood occupied the throne of Britain.

One poet, who forms an important link with the poets of the next generation, has not yet been mentioned. This was Sion Phylip of Ardudwy in West Merionethshire. He was the poetic disciple of William Lleyn, as is clear from an elegy which is still extant. His poetry was written mainly in honour of families in Denbighshire and Merionethshire. One of his elegies, that on Gwen Salbri,

is dated 1581. He died in 1620, and there are still extant elegies upon him written by Edmund Prys, Huw Machno, Bedo Hafesb, and Huw Pennant.

The Tudor period witnessed a marked growth in popular favour of less rigid and more singable metres than those sanctioned by the Eisteddfod. It is probably to this period that we are to assign in South Wales the poetry of "Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert," the correlative to which in North Wales is the poetry of Richard Hughes, a native of Lleyn. The adoption of this type of metre led to the composition of numerous carols and lyric poems, of a type for which Huw Morus, the Royalist poet, won distinction. The sympathy of the Welsh poets of this time was very strongly on the Royalist side.

The tradition of Cynghanedd poetry in the Stuart period was carried on largely by the Phylips of Ardudwy, William, Richard, and Gruffudd. Among the poems of William Phylip we find one addressed to a Welsh carol and hymn-writer of the period, Rowland Vaughan of Caergai. Richard Phylip had an "Ymrysson" or bardic controversy with Sion Cain, who was alive in 1635. The latter was a Montgomeryshire poet who wrote in honour of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd. Other Montgomeryshire contemporaries of Sion Cain were Rhys Cain, Gruffudd Hafren, and James Dwnn, two of whose poems are dated 1620 and 1647. Other poets were Sion Gruffudd of Anglesey, Sion Dafydd who wrote mainly in honour of the Gloddaeth family, Hugh Lloyd of Cynwal, Sir Hugh Roberts, who dedicated most of his poems to Sir Thomas Mostyn, Huw Machno, who like Edmund Prys wrote an elegy on Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn in 1634, Edward Morris of Perthi Llwydion, Ifan John, who wrote some stanzas on the bridge of Llanrwst in 1636, Rees William, who wrote an elegy on Rowland Vaughan in 1667, Sion Mawddwy, whose patron was Sir Thomas Mostyn, Wmffre Dafydd at Ifan, and last but not least, Huw Morus of Pontymeibion, Glyn Ceiriog, the writer of some of the most melodious

lyrics in the Welsh language. In the encouragement of Welsh literature at this time, the Gloddaeth family played a most honourable part. Another North Wales writer, who composed Welsh verse at this period, was the distinguished author of "Llyfr Tri Aderyn," Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd.

The upheaval of the period of the Commonwealth, by the break in the social order which it occasioned, affected to some extent the continuity of Welsh literature, but not to the extent that some have imagined. In addition to some of the poets already mentioned who saw the Restoration, we have John Dafydd Laes or John Davies of Penllyn, who wrote poems bearing the dates 1684, 1685, and 1686. That dated 1685 is an elegy on Charles II. There is extant also an elegy on John Dafydd Laes himself, by a Carnarvonshire poet, Owain Gruffudd of Llanystumdwy. Several of the poems of the latter are dedicated to families in Lleyn and Eifionydd, the latest date which a poem by him bears being 1709. Among the poets who belonged to the Gloddaeth circle, we have also Rhys Cadwaladr, the translator of some verses from Latin, two of whose poems are dated 1679 and 1684.

On its social side, owing to the tendency of many of the Welsh gentry to adopt the English tongue and English customs, Welsh poetry declined rapidly in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, however, it witnessed a revival in response to entirely new needs and from unexpected quarters. Zeal for their country's honour led the three brothers, Lewis, William, and Richard Morris to cultivate the literature of Wales, and to do their utmost to win it respect in the eyes of the world. They collected and copied Welsh MSS., and Lewis Morris became a deliberate imitator of the ancient style. They, moreover, encouraged other Welshmen in the same direction, and the encouragement was mainly given to a number of young Welshmen of classical training, who at school and at the Universities

were familiar with the process of imitating classical models in the composition of Latin verse.

Welsh poetry was now brought once more into touch with the zone of University culture, the Rev. Goronwy Owen, the Rev. Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), the Rev. William Wynn of Llangynhafal, all Oxford men, exerted themselves heartily in the composition of Welsh poetry. The first named was a man who had the gift of vivid and striking expression, and he and his contemporaries employed the stricter Welsh metres with great success for a much more varied range of subjects than the older poets. Other directions, too, in which the poetry of Wales gained new life in the eighteenth century are represented by the growth of the ballad, chiefly in North Wales, and of the hymn, chiefly in South Wales. The publication of the extracts from the older poets entitled "Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru" (the Masterpieces of the Poets of Wales), by Rhys Jones of Blaenau, near Dolgelly, also gave a great impetus to Welsh poetry by supplying characteristic specimens of earlier works. Hymnology found its natural sphere and its appropriate encouragement in the religious movements, which acquired much strength during the eighteenth century, but secular poetry for its growth needed also new encouragement and new avenues for its publication and dissemination. The revival of the Eisteddfod, mainly through the zeal of certain groups of patriotic Welshmen, such as Dr. Owen Pughe, Owain Myfyr, and Iolo Morganwg, gave the encouragement that was needed, and the development of Welsh periodical literature opened new avenues for the publication of Welsh poetry and the fosterage of Welsh fame. The development, too, of printing in Wales made the publication of Welsh poetry a far easier task than it had hitherto been. The result is, that through the encouragement of the national Eisteddfod, and later on of a host of smaller Eisteddfodau for provincial and other areas, the quantity of Welsh poetry from the end of the

eighteenth century onwards, has gone up by leaps and bounds. The rapid development of Welsh music, too, created a great demand for verse that could be sung. Further, the range of subjects has become far wider than it was in the older periods, and of late years there has been a marked tendency towards subjects derived from Celtic romance. The poetry of the nineteenth century, too, has appealed to a much wider audience than that of the older type, and reflects far more phases of human life. It is especially successful in expressing the pathos of life, but the joy of living is brought to view no less than its sorrows.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, there flourished such poets as Dafydd Ionawr, Gwallter Mechain, Dafydd Ddu o Eryri, Twm o'r Nant, Robert ab Gwilym Ddu, and Robert Davies (Bardd Nantglyn). One of the most flourishing poetic zones of Wales in the early nineteenth century was that of Eifionydd in Carnarvonshire, to which belonged Dewi Wyn o Eifion, Sion Wyn, Sion Lleyn, Emrys, Nicander, Eben Fardd, and others. These men, together with Gwilym Hiraethog, Caledfryn, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Alun, Iorwerth Glan Aled, Cawrdaf, to mention only a few, brought Welsh poetry into closer relations than ever with the varied life of Wales. The songs, too, of Talhaiarn, Ceiriog, and Mynyddog extended the circle of appreciation still further. The hymn, too, has been greatly developed, not only in South Wales but in North Wales, and some of the finest hymns in the Welsh language were composed by a young Welsh poetess, Ann Griffiths, of Dolwar Fechan in Montgomeryshire. The study of the masterpieces of poetry of other lands has also given Welsh poetry of the present day a very high level of artistic quality. The development of Welsh higher education, too, by familiarising Welshmen of poetic gifts with the qualities of English and other poetry, has opened up new vistas. The lyric, especially, has become extremely popular. Within the nineteenth century itself

there may be noted an older and a younger tradition. The older tradition inclined towards the religious topics of the time, together with subjects which gave free play to a sense of sublimity; the younger tradition inclines towards the beautiful rather than the sublime, and the romantic rather than the religious. For a time an attempt was made to give Welsh poetry a highly philosophic cast, but the obscurity of diction with which it was often accompanied has now made it highly unpopular. Among the directions in which experiments have been recently made is that of the drama, but how far this will prove a permanent development, it is as yet difficult to say. In the remarkable evolution of Welsh poetry in modern times, North Wales has played a splendid part, and her vigour in this direction shows no sign of decay. All indications point to a most brilliant future for the poetry of Wales. The number of living poets in North Wales is great and their ideals are high; if they continue to combine originality and spontaneity with artistic refinement, they may make the present period into the Golden Age of Welsh Literature.

THE CASTLES OF NORTH WALES

By H. Harold Hughes

WITH indomitable will and set purpose that great king, Edward I., undertook the subjugation of the Welsh, and the provision of effective measures to maintain that condition. To this we owe that magnificent chain of castles extending along the coast of North Wales, from Flint, near Chester, to Aberystwyth in North Cardigan, including those of Rhuddlan, Conway, Beaumaris, Carnarvon, Criccieth, and Harlech.[1]

The death of Henry, in 1272, necessitated the return of Edward from the East. Llewelyn was called on to render his homage to the new sovereign. Failing this, the King's army proceeded to Wales. Edward pitched his camp at Basingwerk towards the end of July 1277. Llewelyn was forced to yield, and the country as far as the Conway was added to the King's dominions. From Basingwerk the King personally superintended the building of the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. The large sum of £922, 11s. 8½d. was paid between Sunday, 25th July 1277, and the 28th August following, "for the construction of the castle of Flind." The industrious were rewarded—three shillings "to certain dykers working well" . . . "of the gift of the King." The wage roll is that "of carpenters, masons, smiths, dykers and other workmen who were in the King's army at Flind and

[1] Some idea of the general condition of the castles and abbeys in Wales, in the first half of the eighteenth century, may be obtained from the series of engravings by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, first published in 1742.—Ed.

Photo: Valentine & Sons.

CARNARVON CASTLE.

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Rodelan in the time of the war in Wales, in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward." The name of the director of works is given as James de St. George, afterwards employed at Conway, Harlech, and Beaumaris. Richard the engineer strengthened the walls at a later date.

In 1277, we read that Edmund, the King's brother, came with an army to Llanbadarn, and began to build a castle at Aberystwyth.

About four years of comparative peace followed, broken by a second rising of Llewelyn. His brother David surprised the castle of Hawarden, put the garrison to the sword, and, joining Llewelyn, laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. The garrisons, however, were relieved by the King's forces, and Edward himself came to Flint early in July 1282, and thence proceeded to Rhuddlan, where he made his headquarters till the March following. Llewelyn fell, we are informed, in a petty skirmish on the banks of the Wye, towards the end of the year 1282. David was taken prisoner, and suffered a traitor's death. Nothing therefore remained to hinder Edward from following up his successes. With wise forethought, he allowed no time to elapse before setting to work to secure his position. The "Statute of Rhuddlan," annexing Wales to England, was passed in 1283. When the works at Carnarvon were actually commenced is uncertain, but there are many allusions to the place in the eleventh year of Edward I., which ended on November 15, 1283. In this year the King promised a charter to the town of Carnarvon. There are bills for the wages of mariners employed in connection with the fortifications at Carnarvon and Criccieth during the same year. There are documents witnessed by the King at Carnarvon on the 15th and 20th of July 1283. The Queen visited the place this year. In this and the following year, large quantities of wine were sent to Carnarvon, and in this, the eleventh year, the large sum of £809, 3s. 11d.

was paid in wages to soldiers, crossbowmen, archers, and lancers employed in the fortifications at Carnarvon and Criccieth.

From the 13th March to the 9th of May 1283, the King was at Conway, and during this visit the Sheriff of Rutland received orders to send masons to work at the castle. Twenty masons and their foreman were despatched for this purpose. In this year, 1283, the Sheriff of Salop was allowed the expenses of forty carpenters sent to Carnarvon and two hundred footmen to protect them. The Sheriff of Nottingham was allowed the expenses of sending an equal number of workmen to the same place.

The castle at Aberystwyth, built in 1277, we are informed, was destroyed in 1282, but that Edward set to work to repair or rebuild it again about the year 1284.

The building of the castles occupied several years. The work at those of Carnarvon, Conway, Criccieth, and Harlech was carried on simultaneously. Their cost from the feast of St. Hilary in the eleventh year of Edward I. (1st October 1283), onwards is accounted for in the Great Roll of the Pipe.

In the thirteenth year the Constable of Bristol had sent lead for covering certain roofs at Criccieth and Carnarvon. Amongst other items we find wages for digging in the fosse round the Castle of Carnarvon; payments in connection with the walls round the town of Carnarvon; wages of quarriers, smiths, and other workmen employed on the wall and task work from October 1284 to November 1285; delivery of stone by sea from January to October 1285; and payments for boards, rafters, nails, and glass windows for the works of the castle.

Amongst the items mentioned, in connection with the castle at Conway, are payments for the carpentry of the Royal Hall and the town walls. The original hall at Conway was completed by the year 1286.

The cutting of the fosse at Harlech occupied from May to November 1285.

In 1284, Edward spent much of his time visiting his various castles then in course of erection. On the last day of March he left Aberconwy for Carnarvon. On the 25th of April the heir to the English throne was born at Carnarvon. Between the 6th of May, when he left, and the 27th, when he returned to Carnarvon, he visited amongst other places, Criccieth and Harlech. He was again in Carnarvon in July and in August of this year, and, on his return to Chester, visited Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint. In October he again arrived at Carnarvon, and, stopping at Criccieth, Harlech, and Castle y Beri on the way, arrived at Aberystwyth on November 8th.

Soon after its completion, Edward and Queen Eleanor are said to have spent Christmas in state at the castle at Conway.

The works in connection with the castles seem to have gone on steadily till the nineteenth year of Edward I. In this year little seems to have been done. In the twenty-first year (1293), there is a sum down for operations at Carnarvon and Harlech. In a rising under Madoc, in 1294, the Welsh took the Castle of Carnarvon. A hundred masons were despatched from Chester this year to Carnarvon, probably to repair the damage caused by the rising, and to further strengthen the works. Edward was at Conway about Christmas time, in 1294, and was besieged in the castle in the January following. We have accounts for operations carried out simultaneously at this castle together with those at Criccieth, Carnarvon, and Harlech, from the twenty-seventh to the twenty-ninth year of Edward I.

In the twenty-sixth year, the Treasurer of Dublin is ordered to send corn to furnish certain of the royal castles, and in the list we find Beaumaris included. We further find mention of a constable of this castle in the twenty-fourth year. In this and the following years, there is

an allowance for works being carried on at this castle. The building probably was commenced immediately following the visit of Edward to Llanfaes in April 1295.

At Conway a grand hall, called that of Llewelyn, was commenced in the thirty-first year of Edward I., and occupied four years in building, at a cost of £48, 13s. 11d. This hall, or its roof, was removed to Carnarvon, in the ninth or tenth year of Edward II., and re-erected there at a cost of £35, 16s. 2½d.

Curiously the same process of the removal of an old hall and its re-erection took place at Harlech. In the second year of Edward II. the Hall of the Princes at "Estingerne" was taken down and re-erected at Harlech Castle. In the same year horses were hired at 2d. a day to carry iron from Carnarvon to Harlech.

A tempest in 1304 (32nd Edward I.), caused much damage to the castle at Flint. Amongst the buildings injured are mentioned the hall, kitchen, granary, and stable. Shingles were required for the roofs, and iron bars for the window "in the Chapel in the Great Tower."

In the thirty-third year, over £580 were expended in wages of masons and other workmen at Carnarvon. The works seem to have been continued regularly in the next reign. From the Minister's account for the tenth year Edward II. (1316–1317), we learn that the chief mason, termed "Magister," was Master Henry de Elreton. In the record for this year we have a charge for converting two oaks into timber for covering the Eagle Tower, and other sums for boards and ironwork for the floors. The lead, for the roof of the tower, and a banner were obtained about the same time. Of the smith's craft we have the record of working cramps of iron for holding the eagle upon the tower. The names of the workmen employed seem to indicate that about two-thirds were Englishmen. In the thirteenth year we find expenses in connection with the Entrance Gateway, including a cable weighing

six stones for the great engine, spikes for the great bridge of the town of Carnarvon, and iron "for the defence of the head of the image of the King, lest the birds should sit upon it." In the fourteenth year is a payment to the smith for working an iron cramp "for holding up the sculptured image of the King."

In 1343, the seventeenth year of Edward III., a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the royal property in Wales, including that of the castles.

At Conway, the great hall, together with the cellar below, is returned as ruinous in respect to the masonry, woodwork, and lead. The kitchen, bakehouse, and brewhouse, under one roof, were nearly destroyed. The drawbridge of the lower baly, the drawbridge of the castle, certain towers and dwellings, were in a dilapidated condition. At Beaumaris the lead covering of the hall and chamber adjoining were ruinous. Many of the towers mentioned by name, including "Le Chapel Tour," required extensive repairs. The kitchen was in the same condition. At Carnarvon, owing to defects in the cisterns, the Well Tower had suffered grievous injury. Certain chambers in the Eagle Tower appear never to have been finished. The other towers in need of repair are mentioned by name. The gate and the tower adjoining had never been finished. Criccieth was the next castle inspected. Three towers are mentioned here, all in need of repairs. At Harlech the chapel was found to be ruinous. The hall and many towers and watch-towers were in need of repair.

From thence the Commission proceeded to Llanbadarn-fawr, or Aberystwyth, and thence to the royal castles in South Wales, returning to North Wales and completing the tour with the inspection of the Castle of Montgomery.

Carnarvon, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint all played an active part in the deposition of Richard II. Richard arrived from Ireland, and landed at Conway in September 1399. He spent a few nights at Carnarvon. The castle is stated to have been without furniture or victuals, and

the King had to lie upon straw. The Duke of Lancaster (Bolingbroke) had taken advantage of Richard's absence to return from banishment in the July previous. Flint Castle had been granted by the King to Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The Earl met the King at Conway, and induced Richard to go with him. They crossed the river and proceeded in the direction of Rhuddlan. When in the neighbourhood of Abergele the King noticed armed bands bearing the standards with the Northumberland arms, and perceived that he had been betrayed. He endeavoured to escape, but it was too late. Percy caught the bridle of his horse, and brought him to Flint, calling at Rhuddlan on the way for refreshments. When at Flint, we read that the King "having heard Mass, went upon the walls of the castle, which are large and wide on the inside," and that he "dined in the donjon."

The greater number of the castles figured in the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr in the early fifteenth century, and many changed hands during "the Wars of the Roses" later in the same century. Harlech was the last castle in England or Wales to hold out for the House of Lancaster.

During the following hundred years or so the castles of North Wales were allowed, through neglect, to fall into a very dilapidated condition.

On the 30th July, 30 Henry VIII., orders were issued to repair the various castles. A survey of Harlech Castle, taken about this time, gives details of the various towers and buildings. The drawbridge, the roofs of many towers, and all the buildings within the inner court, are described as utterly ruinous and decayed. The other castles appear to have been in a like condition.

From a paper written about 1604, and endorsed "Considerations for the keeping of the Sessions, &c., at Harlech," we learn that the castle is "as yet kepte in somme better reparacion than anye of his majesty's castles in Northwalles by reason that the Justices of ye

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assise, Sheriffe, and plenotarye with their trayne, doe vse, when the assises are kepte in that Towne, to lie and keepe their diet within the said castle. At which tyme the said Castle is aired, scowred, cleansed, and some charges bestowed by euery Sheriffe, towards the reparacion thereof at euery time they do vse to resorte thither to keep the Sessions." It is further urged that the castle would be quite "ruinated" if the Justices had not resorted to it; that its position on the coast, with havens on either side, rendered it necessary that it should be kept in repair, so that it might be easily fortified to keep the country in awe, from insurrection, and to resist foreign invasion.

A statement relating to the condition of Conway Castle, made between 1613–20, describes "the tymber supporting the roofe" as "all or for the most parte rotten and growth dayle by wet more and more in decay, no man having dwelt in anie part thereof this 30 years passed: the leades are for a great part gone."

Probably most of the castles were in but a poor state of repair at the commencement of the Great Rebellion. Sir Roger Mostyn, at his own cost, placed Flint Castle in a defensible state for the King and garrisoned it with a large force.[1] It was besieged and held till all provisions, even horses, failed, but at last was given up, on honourable terms, to the Parliamentary forces in 1643. It was retaken by the Royalists in 1645, but finally surrendered in August 1646. Hawarden, at an early stage, was betrayed to the Parliament, but was retaken in 1643, and finally surrendered to Major-General Mytton. Holt had a like fate. Denbigh was more fortunate. William Salusbury was appointed Governor in 1643, and rendered it practically impregnable. The garrison remained loyal, and did not hand it over until an order was received from the King on the 14th September 1646, "upon honourable

[1] Swords and other arms, used in the defence of the castle, are preserved by Lord Mostyn at Mostyn Hall.—ED.

conditions to quit and surrender the Castle of Denbigh entrusted to you by us."

On 22nd December 1646 the House voted that "Holt, Flint, Harding, Rotheland, and Ruthen castles should be slighted."

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Powis Castle was fortified for the King by the first Lord Powys. It was taken by Sir Thomas Myddelton in October 1644, and retained for the Parliament. Montgomery was taken the same year. Its demolition was required by order of Parliament in 1649, together with that of Powis. The decree, in respect to the latter, however, was rescinded in 1660, with the exception of the destruction of outworks, and some breaches being made through the wall on account of the castle not belonging to the State and the owners giving security.

Aberystwyth was delivered over to the Parliamentary forces in April 1646. The castle was afterwards mined and blown up.

Perhaps more interest attaches to the history of Conway than to any other castle during this period. In 1642 the Archbishop of York retired to his native town of Conway, and immediately set about repairing and placing the castle in a state of defence for the King. Charles, hearing of the Archbishop's action, wrote urging him, in 1643, to go on with the work, and assuring him in the following words, that "whatever moneys you shall lay out upon the fortifications of the said castle, shall be repay'd unto you, before the custody thereof shall be put into any other hand than your own to such as you shall recommend." In 1644 many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country handed over their plate and valuables to the keeping of the Archbishop in the castle. In the spring of 1645, however, Sir John Owen[1] prevailed on Prince Rupert to appoint him commander of the castle.

[1] The sword presented to Sir John Owen by Lord Capel, just before the latter's execution, is in the possession of Lord Harlech.—ED.

He surprised the garrison, broke down the locks and doors, and entered by force. He refused to listen to reason, and retained all the plate which had been left in charge of the Archbishop and for which he held himself responsible. A remonstrance sent to the King had no effect. When, therefore, the Parliamentary forces, under Mytton, appeared before Conway in August 1646, the Archbishop came to terms with them. The town was taken, and eventually the castle surrendered. The valuables, we are informed, were faithfully restored to all those who had handed them over to the Archbishop.

At Carnarvon the town was attacked and taken by the Parliamentary forces, and was soon recaptured for the King by Colonel Byron. It finally surrendered to Colonel Mytton, on honourable conditions, on 11th June 1646. Harlech was the last castle held for the King. It surrendered on 10th March 1647.

The later history is chiefly concerned with the demolition of the castles. In a few instances, those in private possession, such as Powis and Ruthin, are still inhabited. The residential portion of the latter, however, is a modern house, built within the ancient fortifications. Of the old castle the remains are but scanty. Although a castle existed at Powis from a much earlier date, the existing fabric would appear to be that erected by Sir John de Cherleton about 1310. Considerable alterations and additions were made to it in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and even later.

Although, as we have seen, nearly all the royal castles in North Wales belong to the Edwardian period, the existing remains at Montgomery appear to be those of the castle built early in the reign of Henry III. There seems little doubt that an earlier castle occupied the same site. Henry always regarded the castle as a royal fortress. Considerable sums were paid during several years, about 1225, for military works. Carpenters were sent to construct defences, and miners and quarrymen from the Forest

of Dean. A chaplain was appointed to serve the castle chapel, and money was allowed for "clearing the land of underwood and harbours for robbers." In 1228, while the English were employed cutting down the trees, they were attacked and driven back to the castle by the Welsh. Henry arrived about 5th September. The Welsh raised the siege, and the troops were employed felling, burning, and destroying round the castle. In 1231, in a sally, the English captured many Welsh. A windmill was erected near the castle in 1233. The town walls were repaired in 1235, and nine wooden turrets were provided. In 1245, Prince David laid siege to the castle, but found it impregnable. In 1249 considerable works of repair were carried out to the castle building, including the donjon and the chapel. In 1254 the castles of Disserth, Rhuddlan, Tyganwy, and Montgomery were granted by King Henry to his son Prince Edward.

The important castles of North Wales are chiefly of the type known as "Edwardian." Excepting where the nature of the site prohibited or rendered it unnecessary, they were "concentric," that is, there was more than one line of defence. The type in reality belongs to the previous reign, but was adapted and used so extensively by Edward I. that it is generally associated with this monarch. Most of the plans have been influenced to a greater or less degree by the nature of the site. Beaumaris, however, may be taken as a typical example. The ground is practically level. There was nothing in the site to suggest a deviation from the acknowledged type. The chief characteristics of the Edwardian "concentric" castle are:—a rectangular inner ward, detached, within an outer ward; three-quarter drum towers at all angles, with intermediate towers between; the curtains protected and commanded by the mural towers; no part of the base of a wall was not commanded from some other position; each tower, and sometimes each stage of a tower, so arranged that it could be defended independently.

Gatehouses were large and important structures, generally flanked by drum towers. The entrance passage was straight and long, and was generally provided with portcullis and doors at either end. The gatehouse formed an independent defence. The great hall was generally an important building, erected independently in the inner ward against one of the curtains.

Denbigh Castle, founded by Henry de Lacy, is of interest, in that the plan, although having many points in common with the Edwardian castle, has much analogous to fortresses of an earlier period. The regularity of plan of those of the later type is wanting. The castle consists of an inner ward or ballium, of irregular shape, enclosed by strong walls with towers of various shapes and sizes at the angles. The gatehouse is high and magnificent. An outer ballium enclosed the old town. A loop fortification, terminating in a tower, called the Goblin Tower, enclosed an outlying spring. The Chapel of St. Hilary stands within the town, and formerly there was a detached chapel within the inner ward. The masonry is very excellent.

Flint and Rhuddlan seem to have been the first castles to which Edward turned his attention. The plan of Flint is a simple square, with towers at the four angles, but is remarkable in that the tower at the south angle is disjoined, and formerly was connected to the main castle by a drawbridge. In the account of Richard's deposition, it is called the "donjon," and, as we have noticed above, it contained a chapel. Rhuddlan is a concentric castle. The outer ward is governed by the nature of the site, and is irregular. The inner ward is rectangular. There are two entrances placed at the east and west angles of the ward. Each entrance is flanked by two massive towers, other towers occupying the two remaining angles. There are indications of the buildings which formerly stood within the ward. The outer ward was defended by a moat encased in masonry. Opposite the eastern gateway, the castle was approached over the moat by means of a drawbridge.

On the western side, where the nature of the ground would not allow the construction of a moat, strong walls and towers were substituted.

Of all the castles, Conway is the most picturesque, and it, together with the town fortifications, presents an example of Edwardian military architecture surpassed by none. Edward, recognising the necessity of guarding the passage of troops across the river and possessing a base at the entrance to the wild country of Snowdonia, removed the Cistercian Abbey, which previously occupied the spot, and erected his town and castle on the Welsh side of the river Conway. The town forms a triangle, with the castle on a rising rock at its eastern angle, stretching into the river. The north-eastern side of the triangle lay along the river with the landing quay outside the wall. On the southern side the town was further protected by the Gyffin stream and the marshy land bordering it. The curtain walls are high, and are strengthened by numerous towers, for the most part half-circles and open in the rear. On the southern rampart, between two of the towers, a long range of garde-robes projects beyond the face of the wall, on stone corbels. The north-western wall is continued into the river and formerly terminated in a tower, thus protecting the quay from a land attack. There are three main gateways to the town—Port Ucha, towards the country, Port Isaf, opening on the quay, and Port y felin, over the Gyffin, giving access from the castle mill. There is also a postern below the castle.

The plan of the castle is an irregular parallelogram, with its main axis east and west. The southern side follows the outline of the rock, and therefore is irregular. A large circular drum tower occupies each of the angles. Two similar intermediate towers in each of the two sides bring the total number up to eight. The gatehouse, an almost invariable feature of an Edwardian castle, in this instance was not considered necessary. At either end of the fortress are small platforms, the outer wall, in each

Photo: Wickens, Bangor.

CONWAY CASTLE.

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case, being strengthened by three bastions. The main entrance is at the west end of the castle, which is approached by a steep inclined way from the town, and terminated on the outside of a deep ditch. This was spanned by a drawbridge, worked from a small barbican, and when down was at the same steep angle as the inclined way. The entrance to the barbican is flanked by two small turrets. It was protected by a portcullis and doors at the entrance and doors only at the upper end, which open on to the small platform outside the castle. The entrance from the platform to the castle is through a doorway in the centre of the western curtain. This curtain is corbelled out above and provided for a line of machicolations. The doorway was provided with a portcullis, the chamber for the same being constructed in the thickness of the curtain above, and is reached by a mural staircase, which descended from the rampart. A steep staircase descended from the eastern platform to the shore. The wall at the side of this path was continued and terminated at a tower built in the river. The staircase was destroyed when the suspension-bridge was made. The castle proper is divided into two wards by a massive cross wall, the same height as the external curtains. The western ward, that nearest the town, is the larger, and was approached through the doorway in the western curtain described above. On the southern side is a large building following the irregular line of the southern containing wall. The western portion of this building formed a large hall, the eastern, probably separated from the hall by a wooden screen, served as the chapel. At the east end are the remains of a large traceried window of five lights with circular head. In the southern jamb, till within the last few years, there existed the remains of a piscina. The building has small square-headed windows towards the field, and traceried windows of two lights, with trefoil cusped heads and quatrefoil above, looking into the court. The roof was mainly supported by stone

arches or ribs. The hall contained three fireplaces. A cellar extends below a large portion of the building. The hall, as we have noticed in the earlier part of the paper, was built many years after the commencement and even the completion of the castle. The kitchen, formerly on the northern side of the court, has disappeared. The eastern ward, entered from the western, through a doorway in the centre of the cross-wall, is nearly square on plan. It contained the state apartments, against the eastern and southern curtains. The most important rooms are on the first floor. Some of the windows, which had square heads, contained tracery of a very excellent character. The north-east tower is generally known as the Queen's Tower, and is associated with Queen Eleanor. It contains an oratory ; the sanctuary, a small recessed apse, in the thickness of the wall, is a very gem of art. It is lighted by three lancet windows. An arcade below is carried completely round the sanctuary, and apparently projected into the room. The stone vaulting is very beautiful. On either side of the sanctuary are chambers with small openings commanding a view of the altar. Probably it was in this oratory that Richard II. and Percy, Earl of Northumberland, attended Mass before the King set out on his fatal journey.

A passage under the royal apartments leads to the doorway in the eastern curtain opening on to the platform beyond. This entrance is protected by a door only, but the curtain is provided with similar corbelling and machicolations to those of the western curtain. Mural passages lead from the doorway, right and left, by ascending stairs to the first floor of the two angle towers respectively. All the towers are provided with stair turrets. Those of the four western towers terminate at the roof level. The remainder are carried, as independent turrets, to a considerably higher level. All the floors in the towers were of wood. The battlements are fairly perfect. Each merlon contained a loop. The rampart walk or allure is carried

Photo: Valentine & Sons.

completely round the walls. Some of the towers are slightly flattened, and the walk is thrown forward on corbelled masonry to attain this end. The castle is plentifully supplied with garde-robes.

Beaumaris is smaller, but its plan is a more typical example of an Edwardian castle, unfettered by irregularities of site, than Conway. Its inner ward is practically square. At each of the angles is a drum tower, three-quarter attached. In the centre of the north and south walls are gatehouses. Half-round towers flank the entrances on the outside. On the inside the gatehouses project into the court, and have stair turrets at the angles. The gatehouses are of large size, and contained the state rooms. The first floor of the northern gatehouse is occupied by a large hall. Each of the long entrance passages was defended by three portcullises or grills. In the centre of each of the east and west walls are half-round towers, projecting forward from the curtains. That in the east wall contains, on the first floor, a chapel or oratory, a very perfect stone vaulted chamber. The oratory is lighted by five lancets in the east end. The walls are panelled, and a trefoiled-headed arcade is carried round the chamber below the windows. The entrance is by double doors, with trefoiled heads, at the west end. A mural passage, immediately outside these doors, runs north and south and communicates with the angle towers and gatehouses. On either side the oratory is a chamber with a window overlooking it, as in the case of the oratory in Queen Eleanor's Tower at Conway. The room below the oratory has a vaulted roof.

All the curtain walls contain mural passages. In a large extent of the walls they are double, that on the ground floor receiving the shafts from the garde-robes, an arrangement which would doubtless add to the pleasantness of the outer ward, but would require frequent attention to maintain good sanitary conditions. The floors of the various towers, with the exception of the oratory

tower, were of wood. All buildings, which formerly stood within the court against the curtains, have disappeared.

Outside the southern gateway, at a later period, a square erection was added with a western entrance only, thus preventing any direct force from being brought to bear on the entrance. The containing walls of the outer ward form an eight-sided figure. Four three-quarter attached towers are opposite the four-angle towers of the inner ward. From thence the walls slope outwards and intersect at points opposite the gatehouses and intermediate towers of the inner ward, thus obtaining more space in the court where needed. At all the intersections, with the exception of the southern, are towers. An intermediate half tower is placed against each side with the exception of those on the southern side, and one curtain on the northern. The latter contains a gateway of peculiar formation—a central entrance and two side posterns. There does not appear to be any satisfactory reason for this seemingly weak construction.

On the southern side, though not directly opposite the great gatehouse, is an entrance, effectually planned for purposes of defence. The building and passage are constructed at an inclined angle with the curtain, and directed away from the main inner entrance, thus obstructing any direct rush. This entrance is a regular gatehouse. There are two flanking towers on the outside, flat-sided below but corbelled out to semicircular above. The gateway opened on to the shore. A spur-work, a little to the east of this entrance, projects from the containing wall of the outer ward, towards the sea, and probably terminated in a round tower at the old low-water mark. The spur is a curtain, with mural passage, looped both ways, with the battlement walk parapeted on either face. This wall, apparently, is for the same purpose as that at Conway, namely, to protect the landing of stores. It is said that a ditch was carried completely round the castle, outside

the outer ward, but this has now been filled up. The town walls have disappeared.

Carnarvon excels all other castles in North Wales in elaborateness, quality of workmanship, and finish. Its cold tone of colouring, and the many perpendicular lines of its straight-sided towers, give it an appearance at once less picturesque and less sturdy than that of the sister castle at Conway. Neither has it the magnificent frowning quality of the smaller castle at Harlech, due to the imposing rock on which the latter stands. The castle forms the southern fortifications of the town. The site selected by Edward was a peninsula, surrounded for the most part by water. To the north and west of the town lay the Menai Straits; south of the castle flowed the river Seiont. The Cadnant River, now flowing under-ground, passed outside the eastern gateway, and entered the Straits to the north. The town has two main gates, Porth-mawr or East-gate, where the Guildhall now stands, and the Water or West-gate, now occupied by the Yacht Club.

The East-gate, the entrance to the town from the land side, had a drawbridge in front and massive bastion towers on the opposite side of the town-moat. The town was surrounded by a lofty curtain. It had three three-quarter attached towers at the angles, and six half-round intermediate towers, open towards the town, as at Conway. The eastern and western curtains terminated against the castle. The plan of the castle proper was determined by the site, and is that of an elongated polygonal figure, narrowing towards the centre. It consists of two wards, an outer or eastern and an inner or western. Two main entrances, known as the King's Gate and Queen's Gate respectively, are both in the enclosing wall of the outer ward. The King's Gate contains a statue of Edward II., referred to in the earlier part of this paper, in a niche above the portal. This gate gives access from the town, and occupies a re-entering angle in the northern wall. A drawbridge formerly spanned a deep ditch between the

town and castle. The entrance passage was further protected by portcullis, gates, &c., in the usual manner. Two semi-octagonal towers flank the entrance. The Queen's Gate is at the east end of the fortress. It is in itself a less imposing structure than the King's Gate, but, standing about 25 feet above the present external ground-level, has a very commanding appearance. Formerly it was approached over a drawbridge, but the outworks, opposite the gate, have long disappeared. Immediately opposite the King's Gate is the Exchequer Tower. A building formerly existed connecting the gatehouse with the tower and separating the two wards. This building was pierced with a portcullised archway. In addition to the gatehouse towers there are seven others placed at the various angles, and two intermediate turrets projecting from the curtains. All the towers are straight-sided, but differ in size and shape. The most important is that known as the Eagle Tower, placed at the extreme western end of the inner ward. It excels all others in size and elaboration of detail. On the coping of all of the merlons are carved figures, one of which represented an eagle. According to tradition, it was in a small room in this tower that the first Prince of Wales was born. The tower is evidently of two dates. As we have seen above, it was not completed to its present height till the reign of Edward II. The probability is that the lower portion belongs to the first works commenced by his great father. Between the Eagle Tower and the King's Gatehouse is the Well Tower, containing the castle well. It is entered from the court by a flight of steps. A postern, over the castle ditch, opens out of this tower. A corresponding but larger tower on the south side is known as the Prince's Tower. Other towers in the outer ward have gone by the names of the Granary and Dungeon Towers, facing north, and the Black Tower, facing south. The basements of the towers are for the most part considerably below the level of the court. The stair turrets

are carried to a considerable height above the ramparts of the towers.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in connection with the defences is the series of mural galleries in the southern curtains. From the Queen's Gate to the Exchequer Tower extend two galleries. The upper gallery possibly never was completed or covered in. The galleries are continued through the towers. They are spacious, lofty, and well finished. There is no similar feature in any other of the castles to be compared to them. They are looped towards the field, and have an occasional opening towards the court. The lower gallery is absent from the curtain connecting the Prince's with the Eagle Tower, and the upper gallery does not communicate with the latter tower. A broad rampart walk, or allure, reached by flights of steps from the upper gallery, allows a third line of loops to be added towards the field, commanding the south.

Of buildings within the wards, the foundation of the Great Hall remains. This building occupied the space between the Exchequer and Prince's Tower against the curtain. A straight staircase leads from the end of the hall, nearest the Exchequer Tower, to the quay. There is another postern near the Eagle Tower. The kitchen extended from the King's Gatehouse to the Well Tower. There are signs of other buildings against the curtain between the Well Tower and the Eagle Tower, and against the northern curtains of the outer ward.

Very strong divergent opinions have been expressed with reference to the sequel and progress of the works at Carnarvon. There appears, however, little doubt that the outer circuit was the first work taken in hand, and that a sufficient portion to shelter a garrison was completed within one year.

In connection with Madoc's rising, tradition tells us, that during a fair held across the river, the Welsh, at low water, worked their way into the moat below the Eagle Tower, and took the castle. A damaged and rebuilt

portion of wall is pointed out as the breach through which the Welsh entered the castle.

The immense amount of modern "restoration" work at Carnarvon detracts from its archæological and historical value.

Criccieth Castle is of small size, and could never have been intended to provide accommodation for a large garrison. The site, a rock projecting into deep water, gives to the castle a natural strength it would not otherwise possess. There are two wards, both irregular, polygonal enclosures. There is a gatehouse to the inner ward, with the usual semicircular flanking towers and portcullis grooves, but no towers cap the angles of the curtain walls. The remains of the containing walls of the outer ward are but fragmentary. At the north end, opposite the gatehouse, and at the south end, the outer ward is formed with large platforms, but at the sides there is little space between the walls of the two wards. On the west the outer curtain is only 6 feet from the inner. There are indications that this space, at some time, was roofed over. In like manner, on the east side, the outer and inner curtains seem to have been connected. This arrangement is peculiar. Few of the features for which Edwardian fortresses are noted are to be found in this castle.

We have, in Harlech, a very excellent example of a small concentric castle, adapted, to a certain extent, to the natural conditions of the site. The position, crowning a precipitous rock, rising out of the marsh, is well chosen. The east front faces landward. The castle consists of an inner, a middle, and an outer ward. The inner ward is a four-sided figure, but the angles are not right-angles. The curtains are lofty, and at each of the angles is a three-quarter attached drum tower. The great gatehouse is in the centre of the east front. Two massive semicircular terminations flank the entrance. As usual, the gatehouse projects into the court and is flanked, in this direction, with two large circular stair turrets. The middle

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HARLECH CASTLE.

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ward is not symmetrical. The sides slope outwards to a barbican gateway in front of the main entrance. At the north-east and north-west angles are three-quarter bastions. The south-west angle is simply curved.

The south-east is a compromise between the two. In the centre of the south front is a half-round bastion, and in the northern, two small bastion towers flank a postern. A deep ditch excavated in the rock, is carried round the east and south fronts immediately outside the middle ward. To the north and west the steepness of the ground rendered this defence unnecessary. The outer ward occupies the slopes in these directions. A steep path winds up along the cliff from the marsh on the west side, and is contained within the outer line of fortifications. The entrance passage to the inner ward was originally intended to be defended by three portcullises. It is doubtful, however, whether the inner was ever provided. Subsequent alterations, possibly made during the progress of the works, would only allow very low headway when a portcullis was raised. Over the eastern portion of the passage is a small oratory lighted by a single lancet. Two of the portcullises, when opened, worked up into the oratory. Two small chambers, one on either side, open out of the oratory, and, as at Conway and Beaumaris, have openings or windows looking into it. There are the remains of a piscina in the sill of the southern opening. The floors of the oratory and of the room in the rear over the passage were wooden, supported on stone ribs. The woodwork would open between the ribs, thus providing means of attacking an enemy from above, should they force their way into the passage. These openings from above were called meurtrières, and are to be found in other castles, such as Carnarvon and Beaumaris. The upper floors of the gatehouse contain fine rooms. They are well lighted towards the court, and have hooded fireplaces. The windows, for some unknown reason, have

been reduced in height. It would appear that, after the work had progressed, it was determined to adopt the gatehouse for the state apartments. A wide and easy staircase was erected in the court, and a door inserted opening from it on the first floor. The inner portcullis, when open, if raised to its normal height, would have blocked this doorway. The portcullis was therefore probably done away with, and a "machecoule" formed in the sill of the window above the inner arch. A second oratory, with side chambers, occupied the position on the upper floor above the oratory over the entrance passage. The towers are referred to by name and their positions are indicated in the survey of 1564. The north-east went by the name of The Debtor's Tower, the south-east The Mortimer Tower, the north-west The Armourer's Tower, and the south-west The Bronwen Tower. The basements of the eastern towers are circular within; those of the western are straight-sided and below the level of the court. All the upper floors are polygonal internally. The Debtor's Tower is approached by a circular stair from the court, terminated at the first floor. A mural staircase gave communication between this and the second floor, and the ramparts. Access to the basement was only by means of a trap-door.

The arrangement of the Mortimer Tower is somewhat similar, but a mural staircase takes the place of the circular. A branch passage leads to a curious external stair, corbelled out from the face of the wall towards the court, which terminated at the level of the rampart walk. In the case of the Armourer's and Bronwen Towers, the stair turrets are carried up and have doorways opening on to the tower roofs. They do not communicate with the ramparts.

The hall was erected against the west curtain, and the chapel against the north. There are remains of other buildings in the court.

Several changes were made in the design while the

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castle was in progress. Apparently it was intended at first to terminate the north, west and south curtains at a level considerably below that of the east curtain. When it was determined to raise them to their present level, it was considered necessary to increase their strength by adding two feet to their width. The western wall had a facing added on the outside, probably that the hall might not be interfered with, while the north and south walls were increased on the inside. The external facing of the lower and older masonry of these walls is very inferior to the upper. The masonry of the towers is superior to that of the curtains.

The main entrance was approached by two drawbridges. The survey of 1564 reads: "The Bridge consisteth of an Arche of Stone, rising from bottom of the diche, battlemented on bothe sides, in the midds between the Grene and the Castle . . . where have been two Drawen Bridges."

The steep path from the marsh is a most interesting feature. Commencing with a short length of road, a drawbridge and lower gate embattled above, the path, cut in the rock, ascends rapidly, protected by a wall, looped at intervals towards the field, to a middle gate. There was a second drawbridge at this gate, and from this position the path below was well commanded.

Having ascended to a point just below the south-west tower of the castle, the pathway apparently turned round, and, skirting outside the west and east retaining walls of the middle court, led up to the northern postern. If, however, the path did work round in this manner, it is certain retaining walls, which would have been necessary, have disappeared. The 1564 survey refers to this pathway in the following words: "The Weye from the Marshe, . . . where hath bene a drawen bridge, to Isseu for the horsemen and footmen, is forced vpon the side of the rocke, having a strong wall towards the Sea, being in length to another drawbridge,

c yardes, and from the bridge to the Castlewall xxxv yerdes."

Aberystwyth, though across the border, seems to belong rather to the North than to the South Wallian castles. The castle is concentric, and consists of an inner contained within an outer ward. The remains are very fragmentary. Of the inner ward, with the exception of the two gatehouses, little remains visible above ground. Large masses of fallen masonry, with the stones still cemented together, indicate the positions of the various towers, and are in harmony with the statement that the castle was blown up by the Parliamentary forces. The containing walls of each ward formed a slightly irregular four-sided lozenge-shaped figure, the longest diameter lying north and south. At the north, west, and south angles of the inner ward were drum towers, probably three-quarter engaged.

The great gatehouse occupied the eastern angle, and is in a similar position to that at Rhuddlan. On the north-west and south-west sides were intermediate towers, the former containing a small second gatehouse. The main gateway had the usual half-round terminations flanking the entrance, and projected into the court, the angles in this direction being occupied by circular stair turrets. The remains of portcullis grooves and rebate for doors still exist. The north-west gateway is pierced through a semicircular tower. It was defended by a portcullis, meurtrière and doors. An outer gatehouse is placed in front of the main entrance, while two bastion towers before a north-west gate flank a stone staircase which descends to the dry ditch. At the north and south ends of the outer wards are the remains of two three-quarter attached drum towers. The western tower, if it ever existed, has disappeared with the cliff on which it stood. A ditch, probably dry, existed on all sides, with the exception of a portion on the south-west. The

steepness of the cliff probably rendered it unnecessary in this position.

Much has been written at various times about the castles of North Wales, especially those of the Edwardian Period. To those who would wish further to study this subject, we would refer to the important writings of Mr. J. E. Morris, the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, and the late Mr. G. T. Clarke. Amongst other authorities we would mention the late Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, and, with regard to matters referring to Flint Castle, Mr. Henry Taylor.

LLEWELYN THE GREAT

By W. Llewelyn Williams, K.C., M.P.

IT is a commonplace to say that the history of Wales has yet to be written. The tangled skein of Welsh story down to the Conquest of 1282 awaits some skilful and expert hand to unravel it. As matters stand, the student is left to stumble through, as best he may, the unfathomable bog of plot and intrigue, of shifty diplomacy and unreal treaties, of internecine strife and fratricidal war, which make up almost all that is known of Cymru Fu.[1] The old idea which was popularised by Theophilus Evans in his immortal *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, that the Welsh people once formed a united and powerful nation after the departure of the Romans, that their last king, Vortigern—in reality a kinglet holding sway between the Usk and the Wye—had treacherously invited the Saxons to help him in his tyranny, that the Welsh had gradually been driven to the mountains of the west, where they had in course of time sunk into barbarism and disunion, and that their decadence reached its climax at the moment of their subjugation by Edward the First, still survives and colours, almost unconsciously, even the writings of scholars such as Sir John Rhys, Sir David Brynmor-Jones, and Mr. Owen Edwards. No period in our storied past is less understood than the final effort of the two Llewelyns to place on a stable basis a national

[1] This was written before the appearance of Professor Lloyd's excellent *History of Wales*.

Welsh polity, and to rouse Wales to a new consciousness of her national entity. No patriot-leader has received more scurvy treatment at the hands of our later Welsh writers than Llewelyn ap Griffith, the last of our native princes. He remains enshrined in song and story; the popular instinct continues to acclaim him as our national hero. But Rhys and Jones, in their work on *The Welsh People* (p. 332), charge him with being responsible for the destruction of Welsh independence, and Mr. Owen Edwards in his *Story of Wales* (p. 172) adopts the legend that the last prince brought about his own destruction by abandoning "the wise compromise which formed the political ideal of Llewelyn the Great." It would be idle to attempt, within the limits of this article, to give in any detail an account of the events which occurred between the birth of Llewelyn the Great in 1176 and the death of Llewelyn the Last in 1282. I shall be content if I can show that these two great rulers—the greatest of the line of Cunedda—pursued a consistent and uniform policy, which failed, through no fault of theirs, but because the fates were untoward, and that at the last a mere accident brought all their plans to naught.

Welsh historians who start with the assumption that in the far distant past the Britons enjoyed a Golden Age trace the decadence of the Cymry to the spirit of dissension, of personal or provincial rivalry, which broke up our national unity. That view has been complacently accepted by English historians, and from it has been derived that unreal and false estimate of the Cymric character which denies to it steadfastness of purpose and of aim. The Welsh people, we are told, lack the power of cohesion and concentration, which is claimed to be the attribute of the Teutonic stock, and of it alone. Such a view ignores the fact that England once had its Heptarchy, that the solidarity of the English realm was achieved mainly by Norman and Angevin rulers, and that the development of the Teutons has been so retarded that the union of Germany was finally accomplished only in our own times.

The people of Wales were never united, in the days of their independence, into one nation; they never, except for a short time and at irregular intervals, acknowledged one ruler. They were gradually evolving order out of chaos, and achieving national unity in spite of tribal and geographical differences, when the death of Llewelyn the Last arrested their development. It is due to this accident, and not to any inherent defect in our national character, that Wales is not to-day a homogeneous country, living under its own laws made in a Parliament meeting in its own capital.

Another misconception which vitiates much of the studies of the careers of the two Llewelyns is that the Prince of Gwynedd was by custom and descent the overlord of all Wales. The old writers denounced the "treachery" of the men of South and Mid Wales who refused to accept the hegemony of Gwynedd. To the King of Gwynedd alone, says Mr. Owen Edwards, "was gold paid as a fine for treason," and Mr. Seebohm (*Tribal Law in Wales*, pp. 134–9), followed by Rhys and Jones (*The Welsh People*, p. 135), adopts the theory of the supremacy of the northern principality. Such a view not only belittles the difficulties with which the Llewelyns were confronted, but tends to depreciate the political instinct and the sense of loyalty of the Welsh people. The sons of Cunedda never directly ruled over the whole of modern Wales. Dyved, Glamorgan, and the district between the Usk and the Wye, successfully resisted the attempt to include them in the territories of Cunedda's sons. When Roderick the Great died, he did not attempt to keep even the possessions that he had under one ruler. He was content to try and bring about a greater unity by combining them under the rule of various members of his family. Gwynedd fell to his elder son, Anarawd, Powis to Mervyn, and the Deheubarth to Cadell. Though the Venedotian Code of the Laws of Howel states that gold was to be paid as a fine to the King of Aberffraw alone, the Southern Code contains a similar provision with regard to the King of Dinevor. Nor

should it be forgotten that the earliest MS. of these Codes only dates from 1282, and that from internal evidence it is clear that they contain additions which were made to them in the days of the Lord Rhys and of Llewelyn the Great. To understand aright the history of the last century of Welsh independence, and to appreciate the greatness of the two Llewelyns, it is necessary that we should cast aside the illusions which we were taught to accept as truths. The two Llewelyns had to contend not only against the military prowess and the trained capacity of Norman and Angevin chivalry, and the strength of England, but against the provincial ideals and personal jealousies of their own people of Wales.

Llewelyn the Great was born in 1176. His father Iorwerth was the eldest son of Owen Gwynedd, but so little was the principle of primogeniture understood in Wales that Iorwerth was passed over in favour of his younger brother David. Llewelyn, however, soon attracted adherents to himself. In 1194 he displaced his uncle David from the throne of Gwynedd, and by 1201 he was acknowledged as the Prince of Snowdon. By a diplomatic marriage in 1206 with Joan, the natural daughter of King John, by political skill backed by ability in the field, he gradually bore down all opposition to his growing power in Wales. He supported the barons in their revolt against his father-in-law, and he was one of the signatories to Magna Carta. Some reverses and checks he met with. In 1202 he had to cede for a time the Four Cantreds of the Perfedd-wlad (Denbigh and Flint) to the English King, but these he soon recovered. He had to contend against the inveterate hostility of William the Marshal, and his son Richard, who as Earl of Pembroke viewed with suspicion the enlargement of his rule. He had to put down the sporadic "revolts" of Gwenwynwyn of Powis and of Rhys Gryg, and other sons of the Lord Rhys, who chafed under the new domination of Gwynedd. He never succeeded in winning the allegiance of Glamorgan, which was under the Earl of Gloucester, or of Gwent and

the Marches. But he succeeded to a marvellous degree in his plans to centralise the government of Wales. Norman baron and Welsh prince, within the limits indicated, admitted his overlordship, while he, in turn, paid allegiance to the English King as suzerain. He was the first Welsh Prince to call together a National Council, and at one of them, which was held at Strata Florida in 1238, he obtained the recognition of his younger son David as his successor. He died two years later. Though Griffith, his eldest son by his first wife, was entitled, according to our modern notions, to the throne, he was quietly succeeded by David, his son by his English wife Joan. This fact alone is sufficient to show the extent of his success. He found Wales distracted by historic divisions—a welter of aimless dynastic and personal quarrels. He left it, not indeed a united nation, but at least a land which was making for unity, and his throne, instead of being the prize for any daring adventurer, was peacefully inherited by his appointed heir. He had, it is true, been helped by two happy circumstances. Since the death of the Lord Rhys in 1197, South Wales had been divided between three or four of his sons, none of whom showed exceptional genius, though all of them were men of energy and capacity. He was even more fortunate in his relations with England. In his early years he had to contend with the most unpopular and the most incapable of the Plantagenets. After the death of John, a long minority ensued, and even when Henry III. grew to man's estate, he proved to be a weak and timid ruler, as incapable of being formidable to his enemies as he was of being loyal to his friends. Even after making due allowance for his good fortune in these respects, the achievement of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth stands out as a remarkable triumph. During the half-century of his activity Wales had made greater progress than it had since the days of Howel the Good. He had initiated a new and a bold policy. He desired to unite Wales under one overlord, who should acknowledge the feudal suzerainty of the English King. At the time of

his death Wales was as united and as independent as Scotland. His policy failed in the end, but that is no reason why it should be condemned. It was his distinctive merit that he was the first to conceive the idea of "Wales a Nation." He failed indeed to free the Welsh Church from the recent usurpation of Canterbury. Neither the indomitable courage and resource of Giraldus, nor the joint protests of Llewelyn and his brother princes availed to save the Church. English historians have fastened on his failure in this matter to belittle his position. "The fact that their bishops received their consecration at Canterbury, and were, from the reign of Henry I., elected and admitted under the authority of the kings of England," says Stubbs (*Const. Hist.*, vol. i. 554), "is sufficient to prove that anything like real sovereignty was lost to the so-called kings of Wales." Llewelyn, if my estimate of him is accepted, occupied a far greater position than that. He it was that made the overlordship of the Prince of Gwynedd part of the tradition of the Welsh polity. This he accomplished in spite of internal and external enemies, and for this achievement he has been rightly acclaimed by English and Welsh alike as worthy to bear the title of Llewelyn the Great.

SEAL OF LLEWELYN THE GREAT (*Cottonian MSS.*), CIRCA 1222.

LLEWELYN THE LAST

By W. Llewelyn Williams, K.C., M.P.

IT is as interesting as it is futile to speculate on what might have been, if circumstances had been different. It is permissible perhaps to believe that had Llewelyn the Great been immediately succeeded by a ruler of equal capacity with himself, his policy would have proved a permanent success. Unfortunately Llewelyn ap Griffith was only a child at the time of his grandfather's death, and he was the only one of the royal blood who by genius and capacity was fitted to inherit and realise the great Llewelyn's conception. His uncle, David II., was not the man for the task. He was soft and unwarlike, readier to trust to the strong arm of the English King than to the loyalty of his Welsh subjects. For six years, from 1240 to 1246, he occupied the throne of Llewelyn. During his reign the prestige of Gwynedd became clouded, the spirit of provincial independence grew apace, and Wales once more drifted to a state of unrest and disunion. When he died he left behind him a disputed succession and a distracted country. For eight weary years Llewelyn, the ablest though not the eldest of his nephews, had to fight for the throne of Gwynedd against his brothers, Owen Goch and the turbulent David. He had no time to devote to the rest of Wales. Norman lord and Welsh princeling fought for their own hand. There was no clear guidance, no steady hand at the helm of State, no national policy. After the battle of Brynderwen in 1254, when Llewelyn finally defeated his brothers, he had to confine his energies to the consolidation of his own power as

Prince of Snowdon. He had no sooner recovered Merioneth from the grasp of the Prince of Powis than a new and even more formidable rival appeared in the field against him. In 1256 Prince Edward of England was created, on his marriage, Earl of Chester, and then began that lifelong rivalry which only ended with Llewelyn's death. Edward was only sixteen, but he had already showed signs of the qualities which have earned for him the title of "the greatest of the Plantagenets." Lenity towards his foes and consideration for his inferiors have never been attributed to him. As Earl of Chester he claimed sovereign rights over the Four Cantreds of the Perfedd-wlad and the southern principality of Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy. That he abused his position is clear; that the subject Welsh were harshly treated by his officials is beyond dispute, that Edward himself was personally responsible will hardly be doubted by any who know him. The hard and arrogant character of the Prince startled and dismayed even his English admirers. The subsequent career of the English Justinian has served as a veil to hide his youthful extravagancies and early cruelties. The Welsh of the Perfedd-wlad appealed to Llewelyn, who, nothing loth, at once joined issue with his rival. After a brilliant campaign, Edward was ingloriously driven from his new possessions, and it may well be that the recollection of his early overthrow embittered his subsequent relations with the Welsh Prince.

Llewelyn was now free for the first time to direct his attention to South Wales. He was aided by the opportune rising of the Barons in England. As his grandfather helped to win the Great Charter, so Llewelyn, by forming an alliance with Simon de Montfort and the rebellious barons, helped to establish the Model Parliament of 1265. For a time the King's power was shattered. At the battle of Lewes in 1264, Edward was taken prisoner. The King became a fugitive, and Simon was created Earl of Chester. Even after the defeat and death

of the great Earl in 1265, Llewelyn continued his resistance, and in 1267 Henry III. was content to conclude the Treaty of Montgomery. Llewelyn was acknowledged the supreme lord of all the Welsh princes, except Meredydd ap Rhys of Dinevor, and many of the marcher lords became his feudal vassals. His power was almost equal to that of his grandfather when at the zenith of his fame. He had, it is true, to do homage to the English King, but the suzerainty of England had been acknowledged by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and even Scotland was nominally a fief of the English Crown. Llewelyn's aim was not to establish an independent sovereignty in Wales, but to rule over Wales under the over-lordship of the English King. He has been bitterly and unjustly assailed by recent writers because he failed to accomplish his purpose. He should, however, be judged, not by the tragic issue of his endeavours, but by his deliberate policy as illustrated in the Treaty of Montgomery. He has been accused of cherishing impossible aims, of failing to realise his true position and to read aright the signs of the times. No charge could be more baseless. For ten years after the Treaty of Montgomery he observed its conditions with strict and undeviating loyalty. After Edward left for the Crusades, Llewelyn's most active and formidable opponent was absent from the realm for four years. If Llewelyn were the faithless and forsworn prince he is represented to be, had he been inspired by dreams of impossible ambition, what might he not have done during Edward's absence? But he embarked on no fresh schemes of conquest or aggrandisement, he fomented no strife. The party of Simon was not yet quite extinct, but Llewelyn entered into no intrigues with them. He made no attempt to destroy the independence of Meredydd ap Rhys. He was content with the success he had won, and to allow his country time to recuperate her energies. When Henry died in 1272, Llewelyn was summoned to London to do homage to his absent successor. He was within his rights in refusing.

When Edward returned in 1274 the summons was repeated. After taking counsel with his nobles, Llewelyn again refused. His action has been unfavourably contrasted with the readiness of the King of Scotland to appear at Edward's coronation and to swear fealty to his feudal lord. But Edward had broken faith with the Welsh Prince. He had shown favour to David and Griffith ap Maelgwn, who had rebelled against Llewelyn, and Llewelyn was justified under the circumstances in refusing to trust to the faith of a suzerain who had transgressed the feudal law. The harbouring of rebels was not the only instance of Edward's bad faith. Elinor de Montfort had been promised by her father to Llewelyn in the old days of the Barons' War. After her father's death she had accompanied her mother to Provence, where she lived in the safe obscurity of a religious house. Moved by loyalty to her father's memory and, maybe, by a not unnatural compassion for her low estate, Llewelyn chivalrously offered his hand in marriage to the daughter of his old comrade-in-arms. Elinor, accompanied by her brother Amaury, set out for Wales in a ship that sailed from Havre. She was captured on the way by Bristol merchants, and at Edward's instance she was sent a prisoner to Windsor. At the time Edward was at peace with Llewelyn, and Elinor de Montfort was his cousin. The detention of Elinor was an act of unprovoked aggression, as well as an outrage on the code of chivalry. Llewelyn hotly resented the insult to his bride, but Edward was in no mood to listen to argument or reason. He invaded Wales, and he found Llewelyn entirely unprepared. The Welsh Prince had relied too blindly on the Treaty of Montgomery, by which he fondly thought his throne had been secured. At the appearance of Edward at the head of a mighty force, Llewelyn's position speedily became untenable. He hastened to make peace with the King, and the Treaty of Worcester undid all that the Treaty of Montgomery had effected. Llewelyn had to surrender two cantreds

of the Perfedd-wlad to the traitor David and the rest to the King. His over-lordship over the Welsh princes and lords marchers was destroyed. Snowdonia alone remained to him, and even that rugged and indomitable province was to fall into the King's hands at Llewelyn's death without issue. By these sacrifices the Welsh Prince won his bride. Of all the charges that have been levelled against Llewelyn, surely the most idle is that he was impelled by ambition in seeking the hand of Elinor de Montfort in marriage. His whole conduct after 1267 contradicts the assumption. Elinor, though she bore a great and honoured name, belonged to a broken and proscribed family. She had no partisans in England; his alliance with her added no jot to the power or influence of Llewelyn. Had there been any danger of Elinor becoming the rallying-point of English disaffection, Edward would never have sanctioned her marriage with Llewelyn after the Treaty of Worcester. She had no status at Court, she brought with her no land or dowry, her brothers were outcasts under a ban. Llewelyn married her for no better reason than that he loved her. For four short years they lived together in unclouded happiness, but in December 1281 Elinor died, after having given birth to a daughter, the Princess Gwenllian. The little daughter of Elinor and Llewelyn survived her father some sixty years. Dry-as-dust entries in the Exchequer Rolls tell the uneventful story of her life. She lived and died an exile from her native land, safe in the confinement of an English convent.

After his marriage Llewelyn had lived in quiet and seclusion. He had passed his fiftieth year, and men aged earlier in those strenuous days. His young wife, no doubt, counselled peace. She had borne her burden of hardship and sorrow; she had tasted the bitterness of defeat and exile. All the facts show that Llewelyn had made up his mind to endure his lot without complaint, to remain content with the love of his Princess, and to

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abjure the uncertainties of ambition. But with her death all his hopes of happiness took wing. He had sacrificed his dreams, he had foregone his accomplished success, for her sake. Now, in December 1281, all was lost, like the fading of a vision. His wife was dead; he had no son who might be expected to win back in happier days what his father had lost, and to redress the wrongs of the Cymry who were groaning under the alien yoke. Llewelyn, when the edge of his first grief was blunted, roused himself to one final effort. He determined to stake his all on one desperate throw, and redeem at one and the same time his own fame and the integrity of his country. In the fierce and sudden fury of his last rising we trace the marks, not of long design, but of the desperate resolve of a broken and hopeless man. The restless David was at his elbow, ready then as ever for any rash and turbulent adventure.

On Palm Sunday, in the month of March 1282, David set fire to Hawarden Castle; he took and garrisoned Hope, Dinas Brân, and Ruthin; Rhys ap Maelgwn captured Aberystwyth; and the heather was once more ablaze. Edward, dragged from his plan of foreign conquest, turned furiously upon the Welsh Prince. He occupied Rhuddlan, and with wary strategy he set about to encompass Llewelyn in a cordon through which he could not break. The Cinque Ports contributed transports which took Luke de Tany, the late Seneschal of Gascony, and a well-appointed army, to occupy Anglesey. The Earl of Gloucester, Robert de Tibetot, and Aymer de Valence, the son of the Earl of Pembroke, landed at Carmarthen to cut off Llewelyn from reinforcements from the southern Welsh. They occupied Dinevor, and they captured the almost impregnable castle of Carreg Cennen. As the victorious troops were returning, laden with spoil, in joyous disarray, Llewelyn's men fell upon them. It is only since the publication of Mr. J. E. Morris's *Welsh Wars of Edward I.* that we know the true facts. Even

Mr. Owen Edwards has assumed that the battle of Llandilo Fawr, which was fought in June 1282, ended in the defeat of Llewelyn's men. The reverse is the truth. Aymer de Valence was killed, and Tibetot and Gloucester were forced to fly. John Giffard, a name of evil omen to Llewelyn, was ousted from his castle at Llandovery, and the Deheubarth was once more free.

This was the first check to Edward's plan of campaign. But a still greater and more decisive disaster was to come. In November Luke de Tany, without waiting for Edward's orders, crossed the bridge of boats which had been constructed over the river Conway. It was an act of gross treachery, for at the time Archbishop Peckham—a sheep-dog that, after the manner of English ecclesiastics, was always ready to harry his Welsh flock at the bidding of his political chief—was endeavouring to persuade Llewelyn to conclude an ignominious peace, and a truce of God had been proclaimed. But the ex-seneschal of Gascony was a meet pupil of his royal master. He recked nothing of truce or treaty so long as he gained his end. He thought to win for himself undying glory by snatching a victory over the Welsh Prince. He penetrated into the fastnesses of Snowdon. But the Eagle of Eryri was not asleep. He swooped down from his mountain eyrie upon his startled prey. Luke de Tany and his knights and men-at-arms were driven into the sea like stubble before the blast. Llewelyn relentlessly pursued the stricken band, nor ceased till all, save one who swam his horse to Conway, were utterly destroyed. Edward, who was ready to start from Rhuddlan, was paralysed by the unlooked-for disaster. He hastily convened another Parliament to provide supplies wherewith to hire more Gascon mercenaries. The term of service for his English levies had almost expired, and the commons and barons of England were in no mood to contribute further supplies for the hazardous and uncertain adventure of a Welsh campaign.

With the instinct of a born captain, Llewelyn saw and seized his opportunity. The battle of Llandilo had secured the Deheubarth; the destruction of Luke de Tany had given the North a welcome breathing time. Accompanied by a small body-guard of tried and trusty warriors, Llewelyn made a dash for the South. Leaving Ceredigion to the care of Rhys ap Maelgwn, he crossed the hills to Builth, where his cousin, Roger Mortimer, ruled with the authority of a feudal prince. The Mortimers were not enamoured of Edward's plans for the conquest of Wales. They were descended from Gladys Vin-ddu, the daughter of the Great Llewelyn, and they may have dreamed dreams of succeeding to the principality themselves. Their kinship with the Welsh Prince had helped to secure their position and to augment their power, and they, as well as the other lords marchers, preferred Llewelyn to Edward as neighbour to their semi-regal independence. Llewelyn therefore had every reason to believe that his coming would be welcome to the aspiring house of Mortimer. He was certain that the Welsh of Melenydd would respond to his call. The exact course of events is obscure. For some reason or other Llewelyn became separated from his men. The cause is yet to seek. It is more than probable that the old tradition is founded on fact, and that Llewelyn left his men to guard Orewyn Bridge on the Irvon, while he himself went to meet Edmund or Roger Mortimer. Whatever may have been his motive, the fact is well attested. The Prince left his men, and went to his assignation unaccompanied and unarmed. They were attacked in his absence by John Giffard, who was burning to avenge the loss of his castle of Llandovery. Gallantly did the few Welsh guard the bridge on December 11, 1282. A traitor led Giffard to a ford by which he crossed the Irvon, while the main body still pressed the frontal attack. Assailed behind and before, Llewelyn's men still held their own, and died fighting at their post. Llewelyn heard the clash of arms.

Suspecting treachery, he ran across the Cwm to rejoin his men. An English man-at-arms, Adam or Stephen de Francton (the name is variously given), saw the unarmed Welshman running across the dell. He spurred his horse after him, and ran him through carelessly with his lance. He knew not who his victim was; he did not stop to discover his identity. He probably thought it was only another of the wild Welsh whom he was hired to slay. Some few of Llewelyn's men—they were not many all told—were encamped on a hill that overlooked the river. It was thought that the Prince was among them. They were attacked, but, lacking the inspiration of Llewelyn's presence, they gave way and were routed. The cry arose, "Where is Llewelyn?" De Francton bethought him of the Welshman he had slain in the Cwm below. He returned to the dead body, and then it was discovered from the gold ring on his finger that the unarmed Welshman whom he had so casually killed was no other than the dread Llewelyn, the Lion of Snowdon, the first and the last native "Prince of Wales." His head was cut off, and the ghastly trophy was sent as an appropriate present to the King at Rhuddlan. Thence it was despatched to London, where it was spiked at the Tower, and crowned in savage mockery. His body was buried somewhere near the place where he fell. No one knows his last resting-place. He was thrust into an unmarked and unconsecrated grave, unhouseled, unaneled, unhonoured, but not unsung. The rites of Christian burial were denied to him who had fought and died "for the Glory of Wales."

So died the last of a line of sovereigns that had held sway in Wales for well-nigh a thousand years, the representative of the oldest ruling house in Europe. He died on the brink of a startling success, at a time when he bade fair to retrieve all that he had lost. He fell, not in battle where he had ever borne himself manfully; not with weapon in hand fronting the foe. He fell by accident, all unknowing of his doom; killed by the hand

of a base-born mercenary who knew not what he was doing. It was a pitiful end to a great career; a sullen setting to a sun that had once blazed in dazzling splendour. His policy failed with him. The shifty David could not hold the sceptre of the Llewelyns, though he expiated, if he did not retrieve, the unworthiness of his life by the unflinching fortitude with which he bore himself to his inevitable tragic end. There was no one to continue Llewelyn's policy, or to rouse the flagging energies of his countrymen, stunned as they were by the loss of their national hero. His death left but one great man in the Isle of Britain—Edward Plantagenet. Unlike his grandfather, it was Llewelyn's fate to be pitted against the most astute and vigorous brain that has ever been encircled by the English crown. It adds to the tragedy of the accident that when Wales produced another Prince, in Owen Glyndwr, who had the blood of Cunedda in his veins, and who was worthy to succeed the Llewelyns in the national leadership, he had arrayed against him the genius of the greatest captain that has sat on the English throne.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NORTH WALES IN THE 14TH–16TH CENTURIES

By Edward Owen, F.S.A.

THE couple of centuries lying between the death of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, the last Welsh prince, and the accession of Henry the Seventh, the first English king of Welsh lineage, constitutes perhaps the most debatable period in Welsh social and economic history; the difficulties arise as much from the paucity of material for the study of the period, as from the complexity of the forces that were active throughout it. When Llewelyn ap Gruffudd fell in 1282, the basis of Welsh society was still tribal, with a small leaven of English manorial practice on its eastern and southern borders. By 1547, the year of the death of Henry Tudor's son Henry, Wales had as completely entered upon the modern stage of its history as had the most advanced portion of England. This peaceful revolution has left few traces of its beneficent march, but it may be possible to enumerate some features of social and political life in which a sympathetic eye may trace the movement of irresistible though hidden forces which were making for the progress and advancement of the community.

It is both interesting and important to note the different rates at which the current of new methods and ideas was flowing in different parts of North Wales, and the causes of its acceleration in one district and its retardation in another. It does not seem to have been sufficiently recognised that the conquest of Edward the First operated

as a conserving force, and that in the purely Welsh districts certain elements of Welsh law and custom lingered in active operation to a later time than would probably have been the case with a succession of able princes with as strong Anglicising tendencies as Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. Thus, the public demand for the complete assimilation of the Principality to the predominant partner came not from that portion of North Wales that was under the direct rule and influence of the English crown, but from the border lordships, though the former districts were in some respects more ripe for the change than the latter. In treating of the mediæval history of North Wales, therefore, there should always be borne in mind the essential distinction that existed between the eastern and the western portions of the district. The former had become, even before 1282, essentially manorial, with a steady tendency to the adoption of English manorial methods; the latter retained certain essentially non-manorial features even up to the period of the Act of Union, and long after they had become little more than tolerated anomalies.

The working of the leaven of English influence within Welsh tribalism is clearly indicated in the early disappearance of one feature of the system, the continuance of which in both Ireland and Scotland enabled it to retain much of its strength, namely, the clan organisation. The family tie was probably as strong in Wales as in the other Celtic areas, but the principle of chieftainship gave way at an early date, and it is doubtful whether the peculiar regulations regarding the cenedl contained in the earliest Welsh codes were ever operative. The larger area of the tribe, with its leader basing his authority upon a broader principle than that of consanguinity, had early made its appearance, and the policy of the later Welsh princes may have been influenced by the same considerations as dictated William the Conqueror's wide dispersal of his barons' estates. Ednyfed

Fychan, the adviser and right-hand man of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, possessed lands in Anglesey, in Flintshire, and in Cardiganshire, a distribution which, whether accidental or designed, could have no other result than to extinguish the sentiment of personal, as apart from national, relationship. The legal sanction accorded to the system of land division called gavelkind by the ordinance of Rhuddlan, and the perpetuation of the fiscal system illustrated in the *Record of Caernarvon*, were counteracting agencies which helped to vitalise the family bond. But the undoubted tendency was against the continuance of the patriarchal type of chieftain ; and the adoption of English methods, which may be said to have commenced with the first appearance of the Normans upon the borders, effectually displaced the primitive ideal.

Whether the system of judicial procedure, of which a minute description is given in several of the Welsh customary codes, actually existed in active operation in the time of the first or second Llewelyn is difficult of proof, and it may indeed be doubted whether it ever existed in its fully elaborated form of the "Book of Chirk" anywhere but as a theoretical code formulated by a local jurist. But, whatever may have been the system of Welsh procedure in, let us say, the twelfth century, we shall doubtless be correct in regarding it as constantly undergoing silent, though none the less serious, modification in the direction of the adoption of such features of the English tenurial system as were better adapted for a community taking to permanent habitations, and to the almost necessary corollary, several ownership.

The controversies of communities in an early stage of development may be roughly said to fall into two great classes: those relating to personal injuries, when every wrong can be compensated for by a monetary payment, and those relating to the ownership or occupation of land, the principal form of early property. The former soon gave way to the more rationalistic interpretation of punish-

ments intended to more or less accurately "fit the crime"; and so far as there existed in Wales anything that can be described as a criminal code, it soon sank into desuetude upon the direct interposition of the power of the English king and the establishment of English administrative methods. Too little attention, however, has been directed to this department of Welsh judicial procedure, and the documentary evidence yet available is not sufficient to permit us to attempt a reliable sketch of the practice of the Welsh courts. So far as is known, no English judge ever conducted an iter throughout North Wales. Serious cases from the border counties came within the purview of the sheriff of the neighbouring English county, who would be directed to bring the offender before the judge on his next circuit, or in an extreme case the matter would be heard at Westminster.[1] Minor offences were tried in the county courts, and an ordinance of the year 1339 directed that there should be two judicial sessions each year in each county.

Civil causes of importance were in like manner moved by writ to the assize held in one of the border counties, or, after its establishment, to the Court of the Marches; and little heed was paid to the privileges of the marcher lords. Indeed, from the opening of the fourteenth century the plea that the King's writ did not run in the marches had lost its validity,[2] and remained only amongst the musty weapons of the legal armoury. On the other hand, sufficient material does not yet exist to permit us to say how far Welsh law was appealed to and administered in the county courts. It is probable that so soon as the English system of procedure by writ, as laid down in the Ordinance of Rhuddlan, became familiar to litigants, its manifold conveniences, and the predilections of the English administrators, would render

[1] Many of the Glyndwr rebels appear to have been tried by special commissioners.

[2] There are several instances in the Year Book.

it popular with the Welsh, who, even before the settlement of 1284, had shown a keen appreciation of English methods, where these were manifest improvements upon their own. But there would still remain many peculiarities of circumstance and of practice which would necessitate at least an acquaintance with Welsh modes of thought and of conduct. An entry upon an unpublished account of Sir Edward Stradling, Chamberlain of South Wales for the years 1431–3,[1] informs us that attached to the chancery of Carmarthen was an official styled "King's pleader in the laws of Howel Dda," whose duties, no doubt, were to watch over the Royal interests, and probably to act as assessor with the ordinary judges when adjudicating upon cases involving a knowledge of Welsh methods. From such a person doubtless proceeded the precedents of pleadings which are contained in the second volume of the *Welsh Laws*.

It has been generally accepted, and the more readily since the high authority of Dr. Seebohm can be quoted for the opinion, that practically the whole of the land of the three counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth was held by family groups dwelling together for a certain number of generations, and collectively paying a rental and performing certain predial services. This was, no doubt, in the main the state of things up to or not long before the conquest of Edward the First, and it may even have continued for a short period after that event. It is certain, however, that the symmetry and general application of the system of family holdings were soon disturbed by the antagonistic principle of separate ownership. Deeds conveying land in fee begin to appear so early as the reign of Edward II.; they increase in number during the reign of his son, and the method soon becomes as universally practised throughout North Wales as in the contiguous districts of England. Nor do these documents

[1] *British Museum, Additional Charters*, No. 26596.

differ in character, or in the scope of the interests conveyed, from similar conveyances of English lands. It is true that the system set forth in the *Record of Caernarvon* (A.D. 1352), the survey covering the largest area of Welsh ground, appears to show the universal prevalence of family holdings in the counties of Anglesey and Carnarvon, and at a later date in the county of Merioneth. So also, throughout the very complete survey of the lordship of Denbigh taken in the year 1335, of which, however, only a fragment has been printed, there are no indications of variation from the universal system of tribal holdings based upon kinship. The same may be said of the amalgamated lordship of Bromfield and Yale, and the case of this great estate is rendered the more difficult, as well as the more interesting, by reason of the fact that while we have no survey now known to be in existence of an earlier date than 1620,[1] this survey continues to characterise the dues and services of the tenants of many parts of the lordship in the terms of tribalism, while there is abundant evidence of the transfer in severalty of full rights of ownership in lands that are still described as tribal. The truth appears to be that so conservative were the methods of the stewards and bailiffs of the Crown estates in North Wales, the nomenclature of the survey, which was regarded as fixing the fiscal arrangements of the manor, became stereotyped, and persisted long after the internal economy of the different holdings had become radically changed. The divergence presented everywhere throughout North Wales, between the apparent continuance of the family or communal system of landholding and the several or independent system, which can be proved to have become general at an early period after the conquest of Edward the First, admits of no other

[1] Since the above was written several earlier surveys of the lordship of Bromfield and Yale have been discovered. See note on p. vii of the Introduction to the Second Edition of *Ancient Tenures in the Marches of Wales*, by Palmer and Owen.

explanation. How the tenants within what the bailiff or steward continued to call a "gafael" or a "gwely," apportioned the dues and duties arising therefrom, is not clear, though there is obviously no inherent difficulty in the process; but so far-reaching a change as that from gavelkind to primogeniture, involving as it did the extinction, at a single stroke, of the rights of all younger sons, could have been received with acquiescence and gratitude only by a community which had already adopted a system in which gavelkind was not a necessary element.

We arrive at the same conclusion after a critical consideration of the charters of the various North Welsh monastic institutions. The grants are as specific in terms and as absolute in character as the usual donations of land to English monasteries, and these commence well within the Welsh period; while they are followed later by leases of abbatial lands which differ in no degree from those issued by English houses.

On the other hand, it would be futile to deny that great and perhaps fundamental differences existed between the Welsh and English land-holding systems, but this is hardly the occasion for the treatment of so important and difficult a subject with the fulness it demands. The high authority of an English court of justice has been invoked to declare that manors (presumably of the English type) existed in Wales; but however readily we may accept the excellence of the law enunciated upon that occasion, we may be permitted a lesser degree of admiration for the historical arguments upon which that judgment was based. Technically, no doubt, the lordship of Bromfield and Yale was as strictly manorialised as the estate of the Earl of Chester on the other side of the river Dee, and the peculiarities that existed, not merely between the English and the Welsh lordships, but also between the Welsh lordship and its fellow Welsh lordship, were probably no greater than could be found between two English lordships. Yet such records as have been published of the Welsh courts in

the three counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth are marked by the absence of certain peculiarities which we should expect to meet with in a strictly manorialised area.

A word should be said as to the influence of towns upon the general progress of North Wales. It is difficult to say whether anything deserving of the name of town existed in the northern part of Wales in the Welsh period. Carnarvon may have a communal existence that, however weak or attenuated, extends into Roman times. Montgomery, only three or four miles beyond the English border, was a chartered town before the Edwardian conquest; but it does not appear to have developed much commercial activity, and, like other tiny communities clustering around the baronial castles, was an aggregation of men whose business was fighting rather than trade. After the pacification of 1282 came the foundation of towns, which, though intended to act as menaces, were from the first also centres of such commercial relations as existed in the Middle Ages. The Edwardian castellated towns, and other towns such as Newborough in Anglesey and Caerwys in Flintshire, which were defenceless, were fitted out with the full privileges of the most advanced municipalities. Each possessed a mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, at first, no doubt, all English, but soon to be reluctantly shared with the Welsh, who proved themselves as ready to assimilate the advantages and amenities of town life as, according to Tacitus, their forefathers had been to seize upon the fascinations of the Roman towns. The Welsh corporations of royal foundation had all the apparatus of a guild, but it is a difficult point to determine how far the tendency to combinations amongst the various bodies of craftsmen, and the peculiar privileges accorded to them, flourished in Wales. Along the English border the centres of local commerce like Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol, exercised considerable influence over the occupations and domestic industries of the districts to the

west; and the towns within the marcher lordships which had obtained certain commercial advantages copied the trade methods of the larger English towns to which they were satellites. This was especially the case with Brecon, a South Wales town, and therefore beyond the purview of the present volume, though Brecon must have exercised considerable trading influence to the northward, up to the point where it touched upon the sphere of influence of Montgomery. The effects of the Black Death have not been sufficiently investigated by Welsh economic students, but there is no reason to believe that they were less severe than they are known to have been in England.[1] The terrible ravages of Owen Glyndwr have, however, left far clearer traces upon our public records. It has been the fashion of late to exalt Owen as one of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—of Welsh heroes; but if the true benefactor of his race is he who causes two blades of grass to spring up where only one had grown before, then, judged by this standard, Owen must be regarded as one of the greatest scourges that ever afflicted a country. The unimpeachable testimony of contemporary records for half-a-century and more after his time speak of the devastation caused by him in almost every county of North and South Wales. It is to the evil results of his meteoric and ill-regulated career, rather than to the repressive measures of his English opponents, that Wales partook in such small measure of the material advancement of her neighbour in the fifteenth century. That Owen was an able man is clear enough; that he was acclaimed by a few of the bards of his day as one destined to restore the independence of his country is true enough, though here it is more than probable that the bards sang to order, and it is quite certain that they sang to a tune that found no echo in the hearts of their countrymen. It is a striking and apparently disregarded circumstance that

[1] See an excellent paper entitled "The Development of Industry and Commerce in Wales during the Middle Ages," by E. A. Lewis, D.Sc.

Owen's supporters were in the main drawn not from the purely Welsh districts of the west, but from the turbulent and unstable population of the easterly lordships. Anglesey supplied him with a certain number of adherents, for the most part of the Penmynydd family; but it is of far greater import that the great county of Carnarvon was never enthusiastic in his cause. The retaliatory legislation of Henry the Fourth probably fell into desuetude directly Owen disappeared, and the general direction of progress is seen in the adherence of the Welsh to the Lancastrian party during the Wars of the Roses, and their steady assimilation of the beneficial measures of English legislation. When Henry the Eighth by a stroke of the pen swept away the last vestiges of Welsh custom, not a voice was raised against the act, nor is a murmur in favour of the rights of younger ones raised by a single bard. It is not by the retention of institutions which it has outgrown, nor by a factious resistance to those of another country, that a people displays its wisdom. Rather is it shown in clear comprehension of the elements which are its special contribution to the advancement of humanity, and its steady determination to develop these upon the lines which its past history has proved to be the lines that lead to national honour and prosperity.

THE CROMLECHS OF NORTH WALES

By Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A.

OF the many relics of the remote past which North Wales has to offer to the curious in such matters, few have attracted so much attention as the cromlechs. Outlined in massive strength against the sky, they catch the eye at once and present to the least instructed the problem why labour so vast should have been expended in the poising of one giant block upon another. No human handiwork so irresistibly suggests a hoar antiquity as this massing of great, unshaped stones, in the effort to express a primitive architectural idea.

There has been much speculation as to the purpose for which they were built. Popular tradition treated the matter somewhat lightly, calling them "shelter [or covering] stones"—for such is the literal and Biblical meaning of the Welsh word "cromlech"—or, as often as not, "Arthur's Quoits," a playful description which was applied to so many specimens of the class as almost to become a generic name; it is still better known to many of the peasantry than the "cromlech" of the antiquary. George Owen of Henllys, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, ventured the opinion that the Pentre Ifan Cromlech had been "mounted long time sithence in memory of some great victory, or the burial of some notable person." John Aubrey, a century later, set the Druidic hypothesis going, and it was at once adopted by the learned of his age, among them by Henry Rowlands of Anglesey, who speaks in *Mona Antiqua* of the Druidic

"altars or *cromleche*, on which they perform'd the Solemnities of Sacrifice, and their sacred Rites of *Aruspicy* and *Divination*." The theory held the field for generations, although a little thought might have shown how unsuitable as altars the capstones of very many cromlechs are, with their great rounded backs rising high into the air, until prehistoric archæology put the matter in its proper perspective, and revealed the cromlech as but the bare skeleton of the sepulchral stone chamber, deprived of its covering of earth or stones. Thus the charm of association with the Druids—a name of magical potency—is lost, but the origin of the cromlech is carried back to a still remoter antiquity, to the neolithic age of civilisation, when the inhabitants of Britain as yet knew nothing of the uses of metal, and no person of Celtic speech had made his appearance in these islands. The view that all cromlechs were originally covered has, it is true, been attacked, notably by Ferguson in his *Rude Stone Monuments*, but it has not been seriously shaken, and among the cromlechs of North Wales is one, at Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey, which has been stripped within recent years, and still carries an earthen cap on the roofing slab to demonstrate its origin as a covered chamber.

Cromlechs occur almost entirely in the western parts of Britain (a fact which prepares us to find them in great abundance in Ireland), and just as in England they are best represented in Devon and Cornwall, and in South Wales in Pembrokeshire, so in North Wales they must be looked for almost entirely in the three north-western counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth. Their number, to our shame be it spoken, is constantly decreasing; Mr. J. E. Griffith, in his admirable "Portfolio of Photographs of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire," points out how the megalithic monument has of late found a new enemy in the parish council consumed with a zeal for road-mending, and not scrupulous as to the source of its material. Two or three cromlechs, including one at

Bodafon, have disappeared quite recently in this way, but there still remain, in various stages of ruin, some thirty or thirty-five in the three counties above-mentioned. There is one just east of the Conway, at Llansantffraid, and another stood in the eighteenth century on Llanymynech Hill, in the north-east corner of Montgomeryshire. They show the greatest diversity of form, some, like the Ystum Cegid cromlech, with their flat capstones and comparatively low supporters, giving colour to the altar theory, others, like that at Bodowyr in Anglesey, with "hog-backed" capstones, balanced high, and not to be reconciled with any hypothesis of the kind. One realises, after study of the series, that the builder took no account of the form of the *upper* surface of his covering stone, provided the *lower* was sufficiently flat to make a roof for his chamber.

They bear a great variety of names in popular speech. The term "Arthur's Quoit" is applied to those at Rhoslan (near Criccieth), at Cefn Amwlch (in Lleyn), at Fachwen, Clynnog, at Lligwy (in Anglesey), and at Llanfair, near Harlech; the Corsygedol cromlech is "Arthur's Chair"; that on the Great Orme is "The Lair of the Greyhound Bitch"; that at Bodowyr (like the Bryn Celli Ddu chamber) is "The Cave"; and that at Trecastell is "The Giantess's Apronful." Thus did the popular fancy play around these ponderous structures, of the real meaning and purpose of which it had long lost all knowledge.

In a good many cases the removal of some or all of the supporters has destroyed the chamber, and reduced the structure to a confused heap of stones, of little interest to any save the professed student of megalithic remains. But a number are still practically intact, and will repay a visit to the out-of-the-way corners of North Wales in which they are chiefly to be found. In Anglesey, one may note the familiar double cromlech at Plas Newydd, well known because of its situation in the grounds

of one of the great houses of the county, and especially interesting, because a few hundred yards away may be seen a chambered mound of the type out of which the cromlech has by denudation been evolved. There is another double cromlech at Presaddfed, and many years ago one stood at Ty Newydd, near Llanfaelog, which has now been reduced to a single chamber. At Lligwy, the entrance to the chamber, lying low under a gigantic capstone, may still be distinguished, while the cromlech at Pant y Saer, in the east of the island, is worthy of special notice as having been excavated in 1874, when sepulchral remains were found under stones not previously moved.[1] The bodies had been placed on their sides, with knees drawn up to the breast, in true neolithic fashion, and were associated with bones of the ox and the pig, with sea-shells, and with a fragment of pottery. Of the Carnarvonshire cromlechs, that at Fachwen is remarkable as having a large number of artificial hollows, about one inch in diameter, on the upper surface of the covering stone, a feature not observed in any other cromlech in Wales. The Merionethshire cromlechs have many points of interest. At Dyffryn, there are two in close association, with considerable remains around them of the cairn or "carnedd" with which they were once covered, while the Llanfair cromlech has the probably unique distinction of having been devoted in modern times to the humble purpose of a pigsty!

Superstition protected these relics of the past for many centuries, but the dread of invoking powers of evil by disturbance of them is a force which no longer tells. Instead, they should now be kept secure by the wider diffusion of an intelligent interest in the history of the country, until on every countryside the lesson is learnt how easy it is to destroy and to falsify the historic record, and how immensely difficult to undo the mischief that has

[1] The Lligwy cromlech was excavated in 1908 by Mr. E. N. Baynes with similar results.

once been done. One even hears with regret of the attempts sometimes made, with the most excellent intentions, to restore broken-down cromlechs to their pristine form. True restoration is, in fact, impossible; what time has once written must ever remain writ.

OWEN GLYNDWR

By L. J. Roberts, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford

TRAVELLERS who pass by rail or by road along the course of the Dee from Llangollen to Bala cannot fail to be struck by the surpassing beauty of the country between Llangollen and Corwen. In the heart of that beautiful region was the ancestral home of Owen Glyndwr, the Welsh hero who "was not in the roll of common men," and maintained his independence against the might of England virtually for the whole reign of Henry IV. Owen of Glyn Dyvrdwy derived his name from the glen of the Dyvrdwy, Dyvrdwy being the Welsh name (meaning "sacred water") of the river whose holy character is reflected in the "wizard stream" of Milton and "sacred Dee" of Tennyson. Though Owen's ancestral home was in this glen, it is probable that he was born at his mother's home at Trevgarn, in distant Pembrokeshire. Besides his house in the Dee valley Owen had another place of residence—his favourite abode in time of peace—in the splendid mansion of Sycharth, many miles to the south of the Dee, in the valley of the Cynllaith, a tributary of the Tanat, which itself flows into the Severn. Of Owen's life at Sycharth, where he lived in princely state, glowing accounts are given by the contemporary Welsh bards, the chief of whom, Iolo Goch, sang in deathless strains of the virtues of Owen and his wife and of their magnificent hospitality.

Owen Glyndwr was a scion of a noble house. On his father's side he was a direct descendant of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, Prince of Powys. Many of his ancestors played

a noble part in the history of Wales. One of them was the founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Valle Crucis, which stands near "the mountaine toun" of Llangollen; others were lords of the proudly perched castle of Dinas Brân, now a picturesque ruin—

> "Relic of kings, wreck of forgotten wars,
> To winds abandoned and the prying stars,"

as Wordsworth sang of it in one of his sonnets. On his mother's side his descent is supposed to be still more splendid, as she is stated to have been descended directly from the two Llewelyns and the noble house of Gwynedd.[1] Owen, who was born probably in 1389,[2] received a good education. It is thought that—like many Welshmen of his time—he went to Oxford: it is certain that he was a student at one of the Inns of Court. When Hotspur taunts Owen by saying: "I think there's no man speaks better Welsh," the Welshman is made to reply—

> "I can speak English, lord, as well as you;
> For I was train'd up in the English court;
> Where, being but young, I framed to the harp
> Many an English ditty lovely well,
> And gave the tongue a helpful ornament,
> A virtue that was never seen in you."

From the evidence given by Owen Glyndwr in the *Scrope*

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[1] Owen's date of birth is decided approximately for us by the account of the memorable case, *Scrope* v. *Grosvenor*, in which he is described as "Sir Owen de Glendore, del age xxvii ans et pluis." His evidence was given on September 3, 1386; and if he was then between 27 and 28 years of age, he was born about 1359. In the Mostyn MSS. Report of Manuscripts in the Welsh Language (*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, vol. i. p. 94), there is a very old Welsh *englyn*, the heading of which refers to the year 1349 as that in which Owen Glyndwr was born.

[2] Leland, in describing the Commote of Edeyrnion, gives the following pedigree of Owen Glyndwr:—"Lluelin ap Iorwarth Droyndon [Llewelyn the Great], Prince of al Wales, had Griffith. Griffith had Lluelin. Lluelin had Catarine, his heire. Catarine had Eleanor. Eleanor had Helene and Catarine. This Helene was mother to Owen Glindoure. Catarine had Meredik. Meredik had Owen. Owen had Edmunde, Erle of Richmonde, and Gasper, Erle of Penbroke. Edmunde had Henry the VII."

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v. *Grosvenor* case, we see that he had accompanied Richard II. on his march to Scotland in 1385. Recent historians have shown that Owen was a scutiger to Henry of Lancaster before he ascended the throne; but it is hard to lay aside the long established tradition that it was to Richard rather than Henry that Owen Glyndwr was attached. It seems likely that Owen was with Richard when that weak king had to surrender to his strong cousin Henry at Flint Castle in 1399.

Owen's wife came of a noble stock. She was the daughter of Sir David Hanmer, a Justice of the King's Bench under Richard II. It is impossible to trace with accuracy the names and the fortunes of Glyndwr's children. Iolo Goch, the bard, sings of the children as "a beautiful nest of chieftains." They seem to have been five sons and five daughters, and their names would appear to be Griffith, Meredith, Madoc, Thomas, and John; Isabel, Elizabeth, Janet, Margaret, and Jane. Possibly they were not so many; several of them are only shadowy figures. Of the sons, Griffith was taken prisoner at the battle of Mynydd Pwll Melyn (1405), and he was a fellow-prisoner in the Tower of London with James I. of Scotland. Meredith is heard of in 1416 and in 1421, when Henry V. gave him a free pardon. The other three are mere names. Of the daughters three married into border families—Elizabeth married Sir John Scudamore of Kent Church and Holme Lacy; Janet married John Croft, of Croft Castle; and Margaret married Roger Monnington, of Monnington. Jane, it will be seen, married Sir Edmund Mortimer. Pennant, in his valuable sketch of Owen Glyndwr, given in his *Tours in Wales*, states that one of the daughters of Glyndwr married Lord Grey of Ruthin; but this is an obvious mistake, due to confusion between Glyndwr's two eminent captives. Shakespeare represents Glyndwr's daughter as the wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; she was really the wife of Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the young Earl

of March, and Shakespeare himself describes her as Lady Mortimer. There can be no doubt that Glyndwr's children were well educated, and that they were able to speak English. But Shakespeare makes Mortimer say—

> "This is the deadly spite that angers me,—
> My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh."

But then Mortimer turns to his wife, and says—

> "I understand thy kisses, and thou mine,
> And that's a feeling disputation:
> But I will never be a truant, love,
> Till I have learn'd thy language: for thy tongue
> Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
> Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
> With ravishing division, to her lute."

The immediate cause of the quarrel, which developed into a national conflagration, was a dispute between Owen Glyndwr and Grey, Lord of Ruthin, a powerful representative of the rapacious Lords Marchers whose greed was the cause of frequent strife. The lands of Owen and of Lord Grey adjoined one another in the wild upland region between Ruthin and Llangollen. Soon after the accession of Henry to the throne, Lord Grey thought that the time was appropriate for him to take advantage of the provisions of the Statute of Merton, which gave to the lord of the manor the right of enclosing all common land that was not absolutely required by the freeholders, and he also seized some lands belonging to Owen Glyndwr. When Owen appealed to Parliament, his case was contemptuously dismissed. There was further cause of offence. In 1400, when he was about to proceed on an expedition to Scotland, Henry IV. summoned Glyndwr, among others, to attend him. But the summons was entrusted to Grey, by whom it was never delivered to his enemy. Grey was then given permission to punish the Welshman for his contumacy. And so war began—

war "which was to last fifteen years and to strain the resources of the realm to breaking-point."[1]

Thousands flocked to Glyndwr when he raised the standard, the ancient Red Dragon of Wales. Hatred of the tyrannical Lords Marchers; affection for the deposed Richard, who had earned the good will of the Welsh; and belief, fanned by the bards, who wandered from village to village, that Owen was the destined national leader—all combined to convert a local quarrel into a national rising. Welsh scholars hurried home from Oxford, where they were noted for their turbulence, and Welsh labourers gave up profitable employment in England to fight under the national banner.[2] All Wales was united—far more united than it had been in the struggle of the last Llewelyn.

It is impossible here to give any details of the long and bitter war. Castles and towns in all parts of Wales were soon in the hands of Glyndwr. He burnt the castle of his enemy at Ruthin, and before long he had the good fortune to capture Lord Grey himself. In three summers in succession the King himself led large armies into Wales,

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[1] Professor Oman, in Longmans' *Political History of England*, vol. iv. (1377–1485). Mr. Oman's account of the Glyndwr struggle is admirably full and trustworthy. He has two slight mistakes, both in common with many other authorities: Sycharth is described as in the valley of the Dee, and Lampader or Lampadern is interpreted as Lampeter instead of Llanbadarn (=Aberystwyth). It may be stated that the best accounts of Glyndwr are found in Mr. A. G. Bradley's *Owen Glyndwr* in the "Heroes of the Nations," a brightly-written and fascinating narrative; in Professor Tout's admirable article in the *Dictionary of National Biography;* in Dr. Wylie's standard work (in four volumes) on the History of England under Henry IV.; and in Mr. Owen Edwards' delightful chapter on Glyndwr in his *Wales* ("Story of the Nations").

[2] Scott's description of "The Gathering," in the *Lady of the Lake*, Canto Third, is literally true of the movement in Wales:—

> "The fisherman forsook the strand,
> The swarthy smith took dirk and brand;
> With changed cheer, the mower blithe
> Left in the half-cut swath the scythe;
> The herds without a keeper stray'd,
> The plough was in mid-furrow staid,
> The falc'ner toss'd his hawk away,
> The hunter left the stag at bay."

and on the third occasion the army is said to have reached the enormous number of 100,000 men. But though he did much damage,[1] Henry had to retreat each time without having secured any permanent success. Owen Glyndwr showed that he possessed in a marked degree the qualities of a skilful general. When the English came down in overwhelming force the Welsh retreated into the fastnesses of the mountains, whence they swooped down on the invaders, who, suffering from the want of supplies, were compelled to turn homewards. The elements, too, seemed to delight in assisting that "great magician, damn'd Glendower," who, as says an old historian, "through art magike caused such foule weather of winde, tempeste, raine, snow, and haile, to be for the annoiance of the king's armie, that the like had not been hearde of." Well might Shakespeare represent Glyndwr as boasting:—

> "Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
> Against my power; thrice from the banks of Wye,
> And sandy-bottom'd Severn, have I sent him
> Bootless home, and weather-beaten back."[2]

In June 1402 there came to the King "a post from Wales laden with heavy news." The Welsh troops, who had been raiding Shropshire and Herefordshire, were met by the English troops under Sir Edmund Mortimer in the defile of Pilleth, on the Lug, near Knighton. The Welsh, who were led by Rhys Gethin,[3] completely routed the

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[1] On his first expedition (in 1400) he plundered the monastery of Llanvaes, in Anglesey, because the Minorite Friars then favoured the cause of Glyndwr; and for the same reason he, on his second expedition (1401), plundered and gutted the great Cistercian house of Ystrad Fflur (Strata Florida)—called the "Westminster Abbey of Wales" because so many of the great Cymric dead lie buried there. In return Glyndwr destroyed the Abbey of Cwm Hir and the Cathedral of St. Asaph, together with three episcopal residences, because the monks of Cwm Hir and the Bishop of St. Asaph were adherents to the royal house.

[2] *King Henry the Fourth*, Part I., Act iii., Scene 1.

[3] Rhys Gethin's home (the name is still retained in Hendre Scethin) was on the banks of the Llugwy, that beautiful stream which joins the Conway at Bettws-y-Coed. Curiously, Lug is a corruption of Llugwy.

enemy, and Sir Edmund Mortimer and many other knights were taken prisoner. The capture of Mortimer was important on many grounds. He was the uncle of the young Earl of March, who had been acknowledged as his heir by Richard II., and who had a better hereditary right to the throne than Henry. Next to the young Earl, who was kept in confinement by the King, Mortimer had the nearest claim to the throne. It was even suspected that Mortimer had willingly thrown himself into the hands of Glyndwr. While he was a prisoner Mortimer became a victim to the charms of one of Glyndwr's daughters, and soon he had become the son-in-law of the Welsh leader. His whole influence was now on the side of Glyndwr, and he wrote to his friends and to his tenants urging them to join Glyndwr in restoring King Richard, if alive, to the throne, or if he was dead in raising to the throne "my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said crown." Mortimer, too, was brother-in-law to Henry Percy, the famous Hotspur, who had been Justiciar of North Wales during the early part of the war, but who had thrown up his justiciarship in anger when he found he had to carry on a hopeless struggle in North Wales at his own cost. Hotspur (who had retired to his own estate in the north of England) and his father, in September 1402, won a great triumph for the King by defeating the Scots at Homildon. But the very completeness of their victory, contrasted especially with his own failure in Wales, proved embarrassing to the King. The causes which alienated the Percies from the King need not be traced here: the King's ingratitude to them bred discontent, which gradually ripened into treason. They announced their adherence to the cause of Mortimer, and communications were opened with Mortimer and Glyndwr; and Hotspur decided to unite the two areas of insurrection by marching to join Glyndwr on the upper Severn. But at this time Glyndwr was in South Wales quite out of touch with Hotspur, and the fatal battle of Shrewsbury was over before he knew

of Hotspur's intentions. Glyndwr was carrying on a vigorous campaign in South Wales, capturing the chief towns and fortresses, in total ignorance of the chance he had missed of changing probably the whole course of British history. The fall of the Percies did not weaken his position. At mid-winter his strength was greater than it had ever been before. He had captured Cardiff and Caerphilly, and was meditating an invasion of England. Reinforced by help from France, the Welsh troops raided Herefordshire and Shropshire, and even in the eastern counties alarm was felt lest Owen and "all his people should meet together at Northampton."

Success had crowned Glyndwr's efforts, and he was now at the height of his power. His plans matured and widened. He aimed now not merely at humbling the great march lords and at resisting the English King; he declared for the independence of his country and boldly described himself as Prince of Wales—"Owenus, dei gratiâ Princeps Walliae," are the words on his seal. The daring and wisdom of his plans mark him out as a statesman of considerable ability. "It so happens," it has been remarked, "that the Owen Glendower of Shakespeare is also the Owen Glendower of history." Shakespeare draws a contrast between the rough Hotspur and the majestic, cultured, and courteous Welshman. The dramatist's description of him—

> "In faith, he is a worthy gentleman
> Excedingly well read,"

is borne out by the testimony of Iolo Goch and other contemporary Welsh poets, of whom he was a munificent patron, and by the letters, still extant, which he sent to foreign rulers and to the anti-Pope, Benedict XIII. He stands in his age as a giant among dwarfs. "His definite plans, his churchmanship, his love of learning, his championship of the oppressed, his sense of justice and of honour,—all his characteristics raise him above

the persecuting Arundels, the perjured Aumâles, and the selfish Greys of the time." Both as warrior and statesman, courage and coolness, perseverance and sagacity were his marked characteristics.

In 1404 Owen held a Parliament at Machynlleth. He had a regular court about him, with chancellor, secretary, banner-bearer, and marshal. To this Parliament four representatives of each region of Wales were summoned. Owen laid before his adherents a great scheme for a formal alliance with France, whence he had already received some help. Two ambassadors were chosen to carry out the negotiations; these were Griffith Yonge, doctor of laws, and Owen's brother-in-law, John Hanmer. They went over to Paris bearing as credentials a letter in Latin, dated at Dolgelly on May 10, 1404, "in the fourth year of our principate."[1] The Welsh plenipotentiaries were heartily welcomed by the whole French Court, and the ministers of Charles VI. concluded a formal treaty with Owen's ambassadors, pledging themselves to an invasion of England. Owen had before this written tactful letters, which are preserved by Adam of Usk, to his "redoubted lord and cousin" Robert of Scotland, and to the chieftains of Ireland, appealing for their alliance against their "deadly enemies, the Saxons."

Owen's greatest claims to statesmanship were the proposals made by him in 1406 in a letter sent to the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII. This was the period of the great Papal Schism, when Christian Europe was divided into two camps according to the needs of national policy, the Roman Pope being acknowledged only by a few countries, while a rival Pope at Avignon claimed the allegiance of others. As England recognised the Roman pontiff, Scotland took the opposite side, and in common with France and Spain paid allegiance to the Avignon Pope. Glyndwr had hitherto been faithful to Rome; but he now offered to

[1] These documents in Latin have lately been published in a convenient form by Mr. T. Matthews, M.A.

transfer the allegiance of Wales to the Avignon Pope, on certain conditions which show his far-sighted penetration. In the first place, the Welsh Church was to be independent of Canterbury and St. David's (Menevia) was to regain its Metropolitanship ; in the Welsh Church none but Welsh-speaking clergy were to be appointed, from the highest to the lowest. Secondly, he claimed that Wales should have two universities, one for North Wales and one for South Wales. It need not be pointed out that this noble idea of a University for Wales of the patriot remained a dream for nearly five centuries.

The reference to Owen's negotiations with the Avignon Pope has anticipated the narrative of his life. The winter of 1404 was a triumphant one for Glyndwr, and early in 1405 he was at the zenith of his power. But from this time forward his power, which had waxed steadily for five years, was on the wane. The main cause of the change was the rise of the young Henry of Monmouth, the future victor of Agincourt, who was now in his eighteenth year. Even two years previously, in 1403, Henry had destroyed Owen's mansions at Sycharth at Glyndyvrdwy during Glyndwr's absence in South Wales. He had ripened quickly in the hard school of mountain warfare, and was now showing those soldierly qualities which won him undying fame.

The event which marked the turning point in Owen's career was the battle at the little town of Grosmont, near Monmouth, fought on March 11, 1405. Here the young Prince won a notable victory, the Welsh under the redoubtable Rhys Gethin being defeated and about one thousand of them slain. A letter of singular interest was sent by the Prince to his father, in which he modestly attributed the victory to the power of God. This was the first serious reverse sustained by Owen's troops. A still more crushing defeat followed on May 5, when in a sharp fight at Mynydd Pwll Melyn, on the Usk, the Prince's men slew fifteen hundred Welshmen

and took prisoner Owen's son Griffith, who was sent to the Tower of London, there to be joined a year later by the young King of Scotland. But though these two defeats were a blow to Owen's prestige, his star had not yet sensibly declined. Though his advance was checked in the south, his power in North Wales had not been weakened. During this summer he held a Parliament at Harlech with undiminished state. In accordance with the treaty made the previous year, help from France now reached Glyndwr. Jean de Hangest, Lord of Hugueville, threw his whole soul into the enterprise, and with the help of Jean de Rieux, the Marshal of France, he collected a force of 800 men-at-arms, 600 crossbowmen, and 1200 foot soldiers. They sailed from Brest on July 22, 1405, in 120 vessels, and reached Milford Haven early in August. They moved straight to the walled town of Haverfordwest, where the Flemish colony was loyal to England, partly by their inherited antipathy to the Welsh. They sacked the town and were beleaguering Tenby, when an English squadron under Lord Berkeley arrived, and sank several of their ships. The French force now joined Glyndwr, who came down south with 10,000 men. The news called King Henry from the north of England, where he had been putting down the rising under Archbishop Scrope. He advanced into Glamorganshire, but was driven back. But Glyndwr was not in a condition to carry on the pursuit vigorously; the French troops were disgusted with their hard fare, and were anxious to return home. French aid proved disappointing to Glyndwr. He had expected much greater support; the aid he had was ineffective, and before many months were passed not a Frenchman remained in Wales.

The early part of the following year (1406) was marked by the signing of that Tripartite Indenture which Shakespeare has described with such dramatic effect as having been made before the battle of Shrewsbury between Glyndwr, Mortimer, and Hotspur. Shakespeare

represents the scene as taking place in the Archdeacon's house in Bangor. But the proposed division was made, in February 1406, at the house of David Daron, Dean of Bangor, at the remote village of Aberdaron, on the edge of the Lleyn peninsula in Carnarvonshire. The contracting parties were Glyndwr, Mortimer, and the old Earl of Northumberland, Hotspur's father. The land was divided "into three limits, very equally," as Shakespeare makes Mortimer say—

> "England from Trent and Severn hitherto
> By south and east, is to my part assigned;
> All westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore,
> And all the fertile land within that bound
> To Owen Glendower."

Northumberland's share was the "remnants northward, lying off from Trent." Nothing came of this grandiose scheme.

A clear sign of the waning power of Owen Glyndwr in 1406, is the number of pardons granted to his supporters in that year. Pardons were offered by the King on the most lenient terms, and many who were losing heart were tempted to submit. A great number yielded in Gwent and Glamorgan; and in Anglesey no less than 2112 of the inhabitants are recorded in one document, dated November 9, as being admitted to grace on paying a small fine. In April of this year, on St. George's Day, the Prince had inflicted another defeat on the Welsh, and among those killed was one of Glyndwr's sons. By the end of the year the royal authority was fairly restored in South Wales and on the marches. The steady success of the English arms was due to the personal initiative and the unceasing activity of Prince Henry, who had been appointed Lieutenant of Wales. For his services in Wales he received the thanks of Parliament repeatedly.

But though the Welsh struggle was no longer a danger

that threatened the throne of the Lancastrian king, Glyndwr still remained unsubdued in his mountain fastnesses, and several important fortresses were yet in his hands. The two castles that held out most persistently for Glyndwr were Aberystwyth and Harlech, and around these the military interest centres during the later stages of the great struggle. Early in 1407 the most elaborate preparations were made for the siege of Aberystwyth, against which the whole might of England was directed. The King's great guns were sent from Yorkshire to Bristol, whence they were shipped for use in the siege, and a plentiful store of bows, arrows, and strings, with stone-shot, sulphur, and saltpetre for the guns, was collected on the border. A picked force of 2400 archers and men-at-arms formed the nucleus of the expedition, and this was supplemented by levies from the border counties and the marches. Proclamations were issued calling out the great nobility of western England and the marches to meet the King and Prince at Hereford. The Prince led this crusading expedition, and with him were assembled many of the chief English knights and barons. Amongst them were the Duke of York, the Earl of Warwick, Thomas Lord Carew, Sir John Greindor (the hero of the battle of Grosmont), the famous Sir John Oldcastle, and John Talbot. The operations against Aberystwyth were directed by the Admiral, Thomas Lord Berkeley, as general commander and engineer in the timber works. But the great guns proved ineffective against the walls of the castle, and the English had to settle down to the slower process of a blockade. The Welsh garrison, under Rhys ap Griffith, held out manfully, but they were soon reduced to famine. Arrangements for the surrender of the castle were made on September 12, by which the Welsh agreed to deliver up the castle if Owen had not appeared and driven off the besiegers before November 1. The Prince then returned to Hereford, believing that

relief would not come to the besieged. He left his troops in charge of the Duke of York, and quartered some of them in the abbey at Ystradfflur (Strata Florida), in the heart of the Cardiganshire mountains. Believing that the fall of Aberystwyth would be the crowning scene of the tedious war in Wales, the King, who heard at Pontefract the good news of the impending surrender, decided that he would go in person to receive the capitulation. But the English had underrated their adversary. Before the appointed day Owen Glyndwr pierced the English lines and entered the castle. He deposed the castellan, and threw in a new garrison, pledged to hold out till the last extremity. Thereupon York drew off and marched back to Hereford. The siege of Aberystwyth was, however, renewed, and, in spite of "an unheard-of pitch of cold," was maintained through the severe winter. In June 1408, Prince Henry set out again from Hereford with a considerable army and a battering-ram of artillery. Aberystwyth surrendered finally during the following winter.

A pathetic interest attaches to the siege of Harlech, not only because it was the last to hold out for Glyndwr (as it was for Charles I. in the first Civil War), but because within its grim walls were gathered the members of Glyndwr's own family. Here was Glyndwr's wife, that "eminent woman of a knightly family," as Iolo Goch had sung of her; and here was Glyndwr's daughter, together with her husband, Sir Edmund Mortimer, and their four children. Even after the fall of Aberystwyth, Harlech was holding out grimly; but when the gallant Mortimer died early in 1409, the castle yielded to Gilbert Talbot and John Talbot. Glyndwr's consort, his daughter, and his grandchildren were sent to the Tower of London.

Glyndwr's later years are shrouded in impenetrable mystery. He vanishes almost completely from our gaze, leaving not a trace behind. But there is undoubted

evidence that he was alive in July 1415,[1] when Gilbert Talbot had orders from Glyndwr's old rival, now King Henry V., to treat with Owen and admit him to the King's grace and pardon. Tradition describes him as passing a quiet old age, now that the storms of life were over, in the homes of his daughters in Herefordshire. He passed away "noiselessly as the daylight comes back when night is done." No man knows his sepulchre. It is thought that he lies either in Monnington churchyard, lulled by the waters of the sylvan Wye, or in Corwen churchyard, by his beloved Dee,[2] under the hill of Caer Drewyn, where he so often mustered his hosts, and where some day his memory will be commemorated by a worthy national monument. But if there is nowhere a monument, "with costly marble drest," to remind us of the dreams and deeds of Owen Glyndwr, he sits, an exalted Potentate, throned in the hearts of his countrymen. Of him it may be said—

> "Go and rest
> With heroes, 'mid the islands of the Blest
> Or in the fields of empyrean light.
> A meteor wert thou crossing a dark night:
> Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
> Stand in this spacious firmament of time,
> Fixed as a star: such glory is thy right."[3]

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[1] That Owen died in 1415 is stated in an old englyn, which is found in the Mostyn MS. 131, this being a collection of englynion copied by John Jones of Gelli Lyvdy, between 1605 and 1613—

> "Mil a phedwar kant, heb ddim mwy
> pen godes keidwad glyn Dyfrdwy
> a phymthec praff, i saffwy
> i by Owain hen heb fyw'n hwy."—

See the *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, vol. i. (Historical Manuscripts Commission), 1898.

[2] For the Sepulchre of Glyndwr, see *Wales*, for March 1895, where Dr. H. C. Moore has an interesting article on this subject.

[3] Wordsworth's Sonnet, "Brave Schill! By Death Delivered."

ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS

By J. Arthur Price

THE history of the Civil War in Wales has yet to be written from the Welsh point of view. The late Mr. Phillips' otherwise admirable work treats it from the standpoint of the English Radical. Some Welsh writers and speakers regard Vavasour Powell and Morgan Llwyd as typical representatives of the Welshmen of that epoch, when it would be probably truer to consider them the voices crying in the wilderness. What Wales really thought about the war is more truly expressed in Huw Morus' poems. Puritanism was intensely unpopular in a country where people spent the Sabbath in athletic exercise. On the other hand, Welsh loyalty never rose to the passionate heights of the Highlanders' enthusiasm for "Prince Charlie," or the Breton passion for the Church and the "Son of St. Louis." The collapse of the Royalist party in Wales at the close of the first Civil War is the commonplace debacle of a cause for which men have no stomach to fight against hopeless odds. It is unredeemed by the poetry that encircles the last stand of a few "faithful unto death."

Of this epoch in Wales, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York,[1] was a typical man, and he brought this spirit into English politics. Unlike Cromwell or Laud, he stood for no principle. He smiled alike at the dreams of the enthusiasts of the High Church and the Puritan school, and he smiled at them in

[1] His full-length portrait, here reproduced, was painted in 1625 by Gilbert Jackson; it is at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Archbishop Williams.

a disagreeable way. He has not therefore left a name that will appeal to the zealots of any political or religious party. It is not, however, only because he stood in opposition to the fiery idealists of his own day that Williams has fared badly in the judgment of posterity. Falkland, who was a man of moderate views, and who in one great crisis acted as Williams acted, has been recognised by the greatest critic of the nineteenth century as the true martyr of the Civil War. Falkland, however, impressed all who met him by his personal charm and his æsthetic piety. Williams, like Falkland, was a learned man. He was also in his younger days a successful courtier. Yet by his passion and levity, as Clarendon says, he gave great advantages to those who did not love him, and, what is worse, his honour was not stainless.' When all this has been said, the fact remains that Williams was a great practical politician, who, if his lot had been cast in other days or under other rulers, might have left behind him an honoured name. One may say also that, alike in his success and his limitations as a politician, he often recalls the sort of Welshmen who in more modern times have succeeded in the House of Commons. Welsh people may admire an Evan Roberts in the pulpit: they prefer to entrust their political destinies to a George Osborne Morgan.

To turn to his story, Williams was a Carnarvonshire man, and the blood of Welsh princes and knights flowed in his veins. His father was Edmund Williams of Aber-Conway, and his mother, Mary Wyn, was a daughter of Eglws Bach. Ruthin Grammar School, to which Williams was sent for his education, had recently been founded by Daniel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. Far too few schools of this sort existed in the Principality, which, from an educational point of view, has only completely recovered in modern times from the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries. Williams, however, had no occasion to complain of educational disadvantages. "I

have heard," writes his biographer, "some of his contemporaries say that his Master knew not for a while how to manage him, he was of so strange a mixture, for at some times he was addicted to loiter and play and to much exercise of body; again by fits he would ply his book so industriously that his præceptor thought it a great deal too much for a child to undergo it. But, like a prudent man, he quickly consented to leave his scholar to his own pace; wherein he got ground so fast of all his fellows." One day the interesting boy received a visit at school from a distinguished cousin, Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Chester, who had until recently filled the See of Bangor. This Richard Vaughan was a relation of Bishop Aylmer of London, a gentleman who is said to have plundered his see wholesale. Vaughan himself was a man who would be called to-day a moderate Churchman. He could put down Puritans like his brother bishops, though seemingly with reluctance. At least the said Puritans liked him better than did his episcopal colleagues, and spoke of him as "the most sufficient man of that coat." Vaughan had been in his time at St. John's College, Cambridge, and he thought fit that his little cousin, the bell-wether of the little Ruthin flock, should go there also. So to St. John's, Cambridge, Williams went, and we know exactly how he impressed his fellow-undergraduates. His Welsh accent was remarkable. Those who knew him at his admission to St. John's society could say that he brought more Latin and Greek than good English with him.

He was an omnivorous student, "and that he might be to seek in nothing, which might exactly finish him in the Ministry of Christ, he adventured to read the Schoolmen, Histories ecclesiastical, and the Fathers, all together." "He surrendered up his whole time to dive into the immense well of knowledge, that hath no bottom." "Such blood and spirits," cries his enthusiastic biographer, "did boil in his veins, as Tully felt, when he spoke so high:

'Mihi satis est si omnia consequi possem.' Nothing was enough till he got all." His character then stood high. "Though he did not strive to cry up himself for a great gifted saint," and although he was popular with his fellows, yet already in youth he exhibited that curious moderation that led him in after years to offend both parties. The Puritan defeat at the Hampton Court Conference, and the Canons of 1603, had left among the old Cambridge dons many who still adhered to the continental Calvinism of the early Elizabethan days. These old gentlemen disliked the young Welshman for his advocacy of the established forms and ceremonies; and the more Churchy sort of fellows were annoyed that he would attend the sermons of the Puritan Perkins at St. Mary's. It was to them a pure excuse that the young man was attracted there by "pure and solid divinity."

Williams took his B.A. degree in 1601, and two years later obtained a fellowship at his college. He was ordained in 1605, and in 1611–12 he was University Proctor. His high influence and learning soon secured him several important ecclesiastical benefices. He was incumbent of Honington in Suffolk, afterwards of Palgrave in the Lincoln diocese, and Archdeacon of Cardigan, prebend of one cathedral, precentor of another, and domestic chaplain to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and holding all these posts together in sublime disregard of the canon law against pluralities. When Ellesmere died, Bacon offered to retain him as chaplain; but Williams refused, and, through the influence of the High Church divine Montague, secured a royal chaplaincy.

As a royal chaplain Williams was naturally brought into close touch with his sovereign, and he and James the First might seem to have been made for each other. Neither of them was an Englishman. They were both learned men, and each had a good deal of natural shrewdness. If the one was himself an ill-mannered lout, he appreciated gentlemen, and the other, if he had a quick

tongue, was both a gentleman and a courtier. The late Dr. Gardiner, who judged Williams with great severity, describes in the following remarkable words the relations between the two men. "He" (Williams) "was the very man to win James's favour. He was not only an immense reader, but a ready and fluent talker. Multifarious as were the subjects which James loved to chat over, Williams was at home among them all. Whether the subject of conversation was the last news from Heidelberg or Vienna, or the newest scandal at Court, he had always something to say, and something that was sure to please. Among the minor difficulties of statesmanship his shrewdness was seldom at fault, as he early proved by carrying out the king's wishes in a matter of peculiar delicacy."

The Marquis of Buckingham was desirous of wedding the daughter of the Earl of Rutland. The obstacles were, first, the pecuniary demands of the Earl, and secondly (and with the King the serious part), the religion of the young lady, who was a Roman Catholic. James was determined that his chief Minister should not have a "Popish" bride, and the task of overcoming both obstacles was assigned to Williams. Business details were easy for him to arrange; but the conversion was a more difficult matter for a person of such latitudinarian views to undertake. However, much was at stake, and Williams adopted a method of argument that would not altogether have appealed to a Laudian High Churchman, and would have been fairly condemned by a Puritan. The lady was first naturally got to agree with him "that conjugal love would be firmest and sweetest when man and wife served God with one heart and in one way." Then she was shown the Church catechism, and persuaded to admit that it was a plain model of saving truth, and also the marriage service, which pleased her. It only remained to induce her to say that the ministers of the Church of England were fit dispensers of God's grace. The lady was there-

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fore married as an Anglican, and the successful conversion was the keystone that made the arch in our hero's elevation. Alas! the lady presently returned to the Roman Communion.

On 10th July 1620, William was collated to the Deanery of Westminster through Buckingham's influence, and it was not long before he had himself embroiled with the House of Commons, through a protest that he made against their claim to appoint their own preacher at the service at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Like many clerics who pride themselves on moderate views and compromising theology, he was a stern stickler for the prerogatives of any office that he might happen to hold. He soon, however, gave to Buckingham and the King a proof of his statesmanlike ability. The time was critical. The abuses of monopolies, and the unworthy tricks to which resource had been made, to prevent reform, filled the Commons with disgust. For the first time since the House of Tudor had ascended the throne, the idea of an impeachment of the Ministers of the Crown was practical politics, and the position of the Lord Chancellor, Bacon, was full of peril. At this moment Williams gave advice which for the time saved Buckingham—he advised him in a spirit of almost Machiavellian cynicism, to throw over the Monopolists, and in leading the attack to obscure his own connection with this. "To trace delinquents to their form," a sporting metaphor from hare hunting, is, he said, "Parliament's proper work. Follow the Parliament," he urged Buckingham, "in their undertakings, and you may prevent it; swim with the tide, and you cannot be drowned." James and Buckingham eagerly took the advice: the monopolies fell; hence a dangerous conflict between the Crown and the Legislature was avoided. The fall of Bacon made it necessary to find another Keeper of the Great Seal. Williams at this moment was intriguing, not for this post, for which there were many aspirants, but for the See of London, and there were

several candidates for the great office of Lord Keeper. At this period the office of Lord Keeper carried with it a great Equity jurisdiction, similar to that of the Lord Chancellor.

Williams was still a young man, and what might have told even more against him was the fact that no clergyman had held the office for seventy years; but some suggestions which he made to the King when the appointment was under discussion, convinced James that he was the man for the post. And to the post he was appointed, in spite of the sneers of lawyers and of statesmen that "so mean a man as a Dean should suddenly leap over their heads." But when the appointment was made there was a further difficulty in the matter of fees. Bacon had come to grief through his receipt of perquisites. "All my lawyers," said James in his cynical way, "are so bred in corruption, that they cannot have it." The legitimate income of the post was £3000 a year, and Williams' salary was augmented by his designation to the rich bishopric of Lincoln. To our minds it must seem surprising alike that a clergyman should be made a Chancery Judge, and that his salary should be partly paid out of episcopal revenues. The application of ecclesiastical funds to such a purpose was a heavy mediæval abuse that probably never troubled Williams. He realised, however, his deficiencies from the professional point of view, and not only set to work hard to read law with Serjeant Finch; but requested that certain Common Law judges would sit as his assessors on the bench. As a judge Williams succeeded. Cynical man of the world as in a sense he was, he had, as Gardiner remarks, a deeper knowledge of the views of ordinary men than Bacon had possessed, and he shunned everything approaching to corruption like the plague. His legal duties he performed with credit and success. Equity, it must be remembered, was not the abstruse and complicated system that it has since become. Its object then was rather in fact, as well as in theory, to mitigate the rigours of our highly technical Common Law.

Williams deserves a high place among lawyers, for it may be said of him, what cannot be said of Coke and Bacon, that he as a judge was one of the first to set that example of purity and honesty that has made our Judicature what it is to-day.

Two interesting events occurred in connection with Williams' elevation to the See of Lincoln. He refused to be consecrated by Abbott, the Archbishop of Canterbury, because he was at this time, in the language of the Canonists, "irregular"—that is, unable to perform his ecclesiastical functions through having shot a man by accident. Williams cared little for canonical rules; but he was determined not to give Roman pamphleteers a point against the validity of his orders. He also refused to resign the Deanery of Westminster, for which William Laud, now Dean of Gloucester, was angling. On the contrary, he urged Laud's claim to the vacant Bishopric of St. David, much against James's advice, and to his own eventual undoing.

We now are entering on the really great period of Williams' career, a period that ends with the death of his sovereign. The historical events in it are so well known that there is little need to discuss them. There can be no question but that he was the wisest counsellor whom James had by his side, and if only Digby had been in the place of Buckingham, it is possible that under his and Williams' counsels the history of England might have developed on different lines.

As in ecclesiastical questions, Williams avoided placing on too high a pedestal the claims of the hierarchy, so he used his utmost efforts to prevent his sovereign from pushing forward to the extreme point his theories of Divine Right. When, in 1621, the King offended the Commons by telling them that their privileges arose from the King's grant and favour, Williams in vain begged him to qualify this high prerogative doctrine by adding that these rights were now vested in themselves. It was a statesmanlike

proposal. Had James adopted it, the conflict between the Crown and the constitutional lawyers, represented by Coke, would have been avoided: but the King, though he could on practical questions often show good sense, viewed these constitutional problems with the bigotry of a pedant. In a rash hour he adopted Buckingham's sinister counsel, and in consequence made Coke the bitter enemy of the Court. In regard to the proposed marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain, Williams showed his usual moderation. He was not sufficient of a statesman to realise that such a marriage would necessarily be unpopular in England. On the other hand, he grasped its diplomatic advantages ; but he was careful to advise the King not to go too far in relaxing the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. However, when the negotiations had practically collapsed, and Charles and Buckingham, full of fury with the Spanish Court, were back in England pressing for war, Williams opposed them, and urged the assembly of Parliament. Sometime later he effected a complete reconciliation with Buckingham and the Prince by exposing an intrigue of the Spanish ambassador of which the object was to drive the favourite from power. To us it is repulsive to read that he obtained the information by bribing the mistress of the ambassador, who was himself an ecclesiastic. Equally unpleasant is it to read of the justification that he offered for his conduct to Prince Charles: "In my studies of divinity," he said, "I have gleaned this maxim: It is lawful to make use of the sin of another. Though the devil make her a sinner, I may make good use of her sin." Is it a matter of wonder that Charles, who had a high idea of the obligations of the cloth, gave his confidence to Laud rather than to Williams?

Later on we find Williams again quarrelling with Buckingham by advising him to give up the Admiralty and content himself with the Stewardship of the Household. "It was," says Professor Gardiner, "good advice":

but the only result was that Williams ruined himself with the favourite. But the Bishop's best friend was passing away. On 25th March 1625, the Bishop was summoned to the King's dying bed. It was said that James had first asked for that great theologian, Bishop Andrewes, but Andrewes was too ill to come, so Williams was summoned in his place. On the road he met Harvey, the scientific discoverer, who told him that the royal patient would not recover. So the Bishop entered the royal chamber, and told the sufferer that he should neither displease nor discourage him if he brought him Isaiah's message to Hezekiah to set his house in order, for he thought his days to come would be few for this world; but the best remained for the next world.

To the end Williams remained by the deathbed of the man who, though he had lived only fifty-seven years, was yet aged, and perchance weary of a power that he could no longer wield, praying and reading and discoursing about repentance, faith, remission of sins, and eternal life. "I am satisfied," said the King, when he heard that the last hour was approaching, "and I pray you to assist me to make ready to go away to Christ, whose mercies I ask for, and I hope to find them."

Before Williams and his son the King, on March 25th, made his confession of faith, and from Williams' hands he next day received the Holy Communion. Then he gradually sank, and on March 27th he passed away. He was laid in the Abbey, in the vault of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, and Williams in the funeral sermon compared him to Solomon.

The relations in which Williams stood to Buckingham and the new King would probably in any event have made his retention of office no easy matter. It is difficult to see how his worldly wisdom and common sense could have appealed to a sovereign who loved to take sweet counsel with such characters as Strafford and Laud. The advice that he offered to the King in the first months

of his reign was eminently sane. He discountenanced Buckingham's foreign adventures. He argued against a quarrel with France or the assembly of the Parliament at Oxford. Unfortunately for himself, he boasted too strongly of his power in the country. "If he was deposed," he declared, "he could have intercession made for him, not only by the strongest mediators now remaining, but by the generality of the land." It is not wonderful that Charles resented such language. The Minister, however, was permitted to fall with dignity. The excuse was made that the Great Seal had only been entrusted to him for three years, and that that time had now expired. "With Lord Keeper Williams," observed Gardiner, "worldly wisdom departed from the councils of Charles."[1]

The fallen Minister, like Wolsey of old, betook himself to his diocese, and here for a time he endeavoured to do his duty as a Bishop, according to his lights. His hospitality was magnificent, and, as one might expect, the services in the episcopal chapel were well ordered. Williams had a fine tenor voice, and he loved to take part in the singing. Unfortunately, he showed little discretion, made his chief friends among the enemies of the Court, and told in public stories of things and persons which did him little good when spies carried them to the ears of royalty. It was, however, an accidental event in his diocesan administration that first dragged him into the religious maelstrom.

The Vicar of Grantham, a parish in the diocese of Lincoln, had caused his communion table or altar to be removed from the upper part of the chancel and placed against the wall on the east end, where the stone altar had stood in pre-Reformation days. In taking this step, the cleric was merely following the practice generally adopted by the Laudian party. At the time of the Elizabethan

[1] *History of England*, vol. vi. p. 30.

Reformation a royal proclamation had directed that the communion table should be placed at the east end of the chancel in the place where the stone altar formerly stood, but should be moved forward in the chancel to a place where the minister might be more conveniently heard when the Holy Communion was celebrated. In theory this was a plausible attempt to arrange a compromise between the Catholic and Calvinistic sacramental theories. In practice, it hardly worked satisfactorily. In royal and episcopal chapels the table was invariably left at the east end of the chancel ; in ordinary parish churches it was left in the middle of the chancel or church, and in those days of irreverence was often used for purposes such as the writing of letters or placing of hats, which gave natural annoyance to the revived school of High Churchmen who followed the teachings of Andrewes and Laud. Their proposal, sanctioned in 1633 by the Privy Council, was that the altar should be placed at the east end of the chancel and be protected by a rail. Williams, when the case came before him, took a different view. He was not a Puritan. He disliked the Puritan attacks on ceremonial. He himself appreciated an ornate service. But he realised the strength of the no-Popery feeling in England. He felt that to interfere with a custom common to many parish churches, and to revive at the same time a pre-Reformation practice, would weaken the hold of the Church on the average man.

When the parishioners of Grantham, therefore, complained of their vicar's conduct, he directed that the Holy Table should in general stand at the east end, but should be moved down when required for use. He added, what Dr. Gardiner considers a more questionable ruling, "that the table when placed at the east end should stand east and west as a table and not along the wall as an altar." But the conclusion of his letter to the vicar is characteristic : "Whichever side soever, you or your parish, shall first yield unto the other in these needless controversies, shall

remain in my poor judgment the more discreet, grave, and learned man of the two, and by that time you have gained some more experience in the cure of souls you shall gain no such ceremony equal to Christian charity." Subsequently, Williams followed the Grantham precedent in regard to a church in Leicester, and finally, in a book published anonymously in 1636, "The Holy Table—Name and Thing," he defended his position at length on the lines of the Grantham letter.

To the ordinary man, who cares little for theological controversy, Williams' attitude on the whole of the controversy will appear to have been eminently sensible. It is remarkable, however, that not only did he fail in his attempt to stop the Laudian reform, his half-hearted arguments failed to make him a hero with the Puritans. He, however, may claim to have been a precursor of the modern Broad Church party, and, like other Broad Church divines, he was more a *persona grata* to foreign than to native Protestantism. At this time his influence secured a Welsh living for a distinguished Huguenot divine. But there is an episode in Williams' diocesan administration that brings him into sympathetic touch with High Church life on its devotional side. Readers of John Shorthouse's famous novel, *John Inglesant*, will never forget the picture of the Anglican monastery at Little Gidding and the portraits of Nicholas Ferrars and Mary Collet. The religious life of the Ferrars family in that home of ancient peace profoundly impressed Williams. It was a picture of a withdrawal from the worldly cares and ambitions such as he had never witnessed before. And the loyal obedience of the community to him as their diocesan must have moved him. He was both their adviser and their guest, and, in the storm of obloquy that Puritan intolerance raised against them, he was their protector. High Churchmen, who dislike his great policy, may at least do him the justice to remember that he had a reverence for the monastic ideal, and the courage to express it in action.

It is melancholy to return to Williams' political career, and the dark pages in the life of a great man which now concern us may be briefly dismissed. From the time that he laid down the seals of office, he was a persistent and irritating, but hardly a formidable, opponent of the Government. When the Petition of Rights was before the Lords, he pleaded for a compromise on the right of the sovereign to arrest and imprison persons without legal process. He admitted the right of the Crown to arrest, without trial, persons dangerous to the State, but he wished to exempt from such arrest persons who refused to lend the King money, or who were arrested for any cause, contrary to Magna Charta and the statutes of the realm. About this time Buckingham appears to have contemplated his restoration to the Government, but Felton's knife ended the Duke's career, and left the Bishop's enemies supreme in the councils of the King.

Williams was now in the power of those enemies, and they struck without mercy. Soon after he had resigned office, a prosecution had been commenced against him in the Star Chamber for the betrayal of secrets. In 1633 the character of one of his witnesses was assailed, and it is mournful to relate that Williams resorted to a subornation of perjury, and, the fact being discovered, he was haled before the Star Chamber on this new offence. He made a desperate effort to save himself by offering bribes to certain venal members of the Court, who promised to secure him a pardon. A squalid intrigue followed. In the end Williams was sold by his agents, and his penalty was a fine of £10,000 and imprisonment during the royal pleasure. Williams passed to the Tower, and remained there until the policy of "Thorough" had fallen, and royalty was face to face with the Puritan Revolution. To exculpate Williams' conduct in this sad affair is impossible. It may be remembered in his favour that so stern a disciplinarian as Archbishop Laud did not take a very serious view of his moral delinquency. He offered him,

if the King were willing, a release on condition of his finding security for the fine, and accepting, instead of the See of Lincoln, a Welsh or Irish Bishopric. Williams is said to have replied, that if he took an Irish Bishopric, Wentworth, who was now the Irish Deputy, would cut off his head. The remark is interesting, as it shows Williams' feeling with regard to Strafford, and may explain his later attitude towards him.

The meeting of the Long Parliament set Williams at liberty, and for a moment it appeared as if he might rule the whirlwind and direct the storm; but in the end his failure was as hopeless as that of Necker in the early days of the French Revolution. For a moment he pleased the Puritans. Using his authority as "Dean of Westminster," he altered the position of the Holy Table at St. Margaret's to the satisfaction of the House of Commons. He advised Charles to assent to the Bill of Attainder against Strafford, arguing that a king had a public as well as a private conscience, and that he might sanction the Earl's execution though his conscience disapproved, because the judges considered that he deserved death. Such advice was disgraceful; but Williams, at the very time he was giving it, was vainly pressing the King to reject the Bill that made the Long Parliament indissoluble save with its consent. He already saw whereto Parliament was moving. It was not long, however, ere all the weakness of his policy was manifest. While the Puritans were seeking to abolish Episcopacy, Williams had collected round him a committee of divines of divers views and great scholarship to make proposals for a modification of the episcopal system. Eventually Williams put the committee's suggestions in the form of a Bill, the chief proposal of which was that Bishops should have the assistance of twelve presbyters to assist them in matters of ordination and jurisdiction. The House of Lords sent it to a committee, and there it perished. Still Williams urged conciliation on the King, and pressed him to make friends with Essex

and Manchester. The King recognised his services by appointing him to the Archbishopric of York.

On 27th December, 1641, he, with other Bishops, was "rabbled" by some 'prentice boys as he went to the House of Lords in his robes.[1] Then he did the most unwise act of his life. Possibly under the persuasion of Lord Digby, he and eleven other Bishops issued a protest that they could not sit in Parliament for fear of mob violence, and that without their presence "laws, orders, and votes" would be null and void. Even the Lords were indignant, and the Commons on Pym's motion impeached the twelve Bishops of high treason, and committed them to the Tower.

Williams was now in the same gloomy fortress where his rival Laud was confined, and Laud is said to have got some amusement out of his mischance. Williams' captivity was not, however, of long duration. Released on bail on condition that he would not go to Yorkshire, he nevertheless went there, and, scenting the battle from afar, began to fortify his house at Canwood. Driven thence, by the approach of some Roundhead troops, he hurried to his native land, and, while other prelates were at their prayers, he threw himself into the work of a soldier. His countrymen eagerly rallied round him, and many of them generously trusted him with their money which he stored in Conway Castle. This ancient fortress he had re-fortified at his own expense, nominating his nephew as Governor. In his preparation for war he adopted the wisest policy, seeking to place Welshmen in command of Welsh soldiers. Unhappily Rupert and Sir John Mennes, the Royalist Governor of North Wales, refused to follow his advice on this point, a refusal which greatly offended the national sentiment.

As the Royalist cause declined, Williams increased his

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[1] William, Archbishop of York, was especially attacked and his gown torn. "If he had not been seasonably rescued, it was believed they would have murdered him" (Wade, *Life of Pym*, p. 273).

efforts. He entered into correspondence with the Irish Deputy, Lord Ormond, and urged him to send troops to Wales to save Chester, and to turn the fortunes of war in the Midlands. To Ormond's sympathetic ears he poured out the story of the waning fortunes of the cause, of the loss of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire, and prayed hard for succour. In 1645 he was summoned to Oxford, where he warned the King against Cromwell. "Every heart has some evil properties," he is reported to have said, "but Cromwell has the properties of all evil hearts"; and he advised the King to win him by promises of fair treatment or to cut him short.

Cromwell, it may be mentioned, had a great regard for Williams, and in the last year of his life wrote him a cordial letter. From Oxford, Williams returned again to Conway. But his influence had gone. Sir John Owen of Clenenney, the dashing Cavalier, had seized the castle and detained moneys entrusted by his Welsh friends to the Archbishop. When Charles fled a hopeless fugitive over the border, Williams used his influence with the Parliamentary commander, General Mytton, to stop a useless war. Owen refusing to surrender, Williams assisted Mytton in a plan, successfully carried out, for the storm of the fortress. The victory was disgraced by the drowning of Irish prisoners, and Williams was greatly blamed by the Royalists. He, however, probably acted in the interests of Wales.

His life's career was over: his fine constitution had been ruined by his exertions in the Civil War, and he spent his remaining days in his own Carnarvonshire. The King's death is said to have broken his heart, and he passed away on Lady Day 1650 at Eglwys Rhôs. He was laid to rest beneath a stately monument at Llandegai. In his will he remembered education and the poor. His last days had shown that he truly loved his native land. Perchance he would have left a nobler name in history if his life had been spent beneath her hills.

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THE ORIGIN OF NONCONFORMITY IN NORTH WALES

By J. H. Davies, M.A.

IT is an interesting fact, that although Nonconformity is relatively far stronger in Wales than in England, yet it is a plant of more modern growth. There were no Nonconformists in Wales till well on into the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and though at that time there still remained a fairly numerous body of adherents to the old Catholic faith, especially in North Wales, the mass of the people were in every sense staunch Churchmen. Unlike the English of the period, the Welsh were also devoted to the cause of the King, and it is worthy of note, that the only part of Wales where the Parliament received any support was in the English portion of Pembrokeshire. Wales was therefore strongly Church and Tory during the seventeenth century ; how was it that she became ultimately a stronghold of Radicalism and Dissent?

The answer to this question may be found in the history of the Church herself. Wales suffered more serious effects than any part of the country by the dissolution of the monasteries : her religious endowments were ruthlessly torn from the monasteries and given to Court favourites, and not only was this the case with the lands which the Church possessed, but the tithes were also in a large measure alienated.

The result was that a large number of the ablest Welsh clergymen were drawn to the English dioceses, while the small livings in Wales only attracted an illiterate class of

clergymen. Another result was that the Welsh bishops, in order to provide a reasonable stipend for their clergy, instituted them to three or four or more benefices at the same time, thus practically depriving whole neighbourhoods of anything but a desultory service on the Sunday. This state of things continued well on into the nineteenth century, with the result that when the Nonconformist denominations came into the field, the Church had practically no means of holding her own. But though the poverty of the Welsh Church was one of the chief causes for the ease with which Nonconformity gained its present position in Wales, it was by no means the only cause. Much has been made of the spiritual destitution of Wales in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it would be difficult to prove that things were in a worse condition in Wales than in many parts of England at the same time, and there is every reason to believe that the commonly received view as to the ignorance of the people is exaggerated. One of the chief reasons for the failure of the Church arose from the manner in which she was governed. Throughout the eighteenth century Welsh bishoprics were the reward for political services, and they were invariably given to Englishmen, who, with the best will in the world, could not hope to understand and appreciate the point of view of the monoglot Welshman. A study of the lists of beneficed clergymen in the Welsh dioceses during the eighteenth century proves also that it was a comparatively common thing for an Englishman ignorant of the Welsh language to be preferred to Welsh parishes, where he would either conduct the services in English or mongrel Welsh, or procure a curate to do his duties for a small pittance. In spite of these facts, however, Nonconformity did not obtain a strong footing in Wales till the middle of the eighteenth century. In North Wales it was practically non-existent, but it had gained ground, and was continuing to gain ground in South Wales from the beginning of the eighteenth century. A few figures stand

out boldly even in the seventeenth century, such as Morgan Llwyd of Wrexham, Vavasour Powell of Montgomeryshire, Hugh Owen of Bronyclydwr, and Richard Davies the Quaker.

Morgan Llwyd was the son of a Merionethshire yeoman, and sprang from a family which had gained some repute as patrons and students of Welsh lore. He came into contact at an early age with Walter Cradock, who may be looked upon as the founder of Welsh Nonconformity. Cradock imbued him with his own principles, and in course of time Llwyd drifted into the army, and served for a period as army chaplain under Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk Castle. After leaving the army he came under the influence of the Fifth Monarchy party, a band of enthusiasts who believed that the millennium was close at hand, and conceived it their duty to prepare the way for the coming of Jesus Christ, the Fifth Monarch. Historians have dwelt at length on the political effects of this movement, and there has therefore been a tendency to cloud the ethical side. Morgan Llwyd was, like many Celts, a dreamer, and there can be no doubt that the contemplation of a time near at hand, when righteousness should rule and be triumphant, appealed to the higher side of his nature. He returned to Wales in 1646, and settled at Wrexham, where he spent the remainder of his life. He appears to have taken a considerable part in the political life of North Wales during the first years he spent at Wrexham, but as time went on he devoted more and more of his time to itinerant preaching, and to the writing of books in the Welsh language. To-day his reputation rests mainly on his literary work, his chief book being Llyfr y Tri Aderyn (the Book of the Three Birds), written in 1653. This book is written in the form of a dialogue between the eagle, the raven, and the dove; the eagle typifies the government or authority of the country, the raven typifies the priesthood or the Church in as far as it is bound to the State, and the dove is typical of free

unshackled religion. The eagle throughout takes the part of a judge, giving each side a fair hearing, though always deciding in favour of the dove ; the raven and the dove dispute about the principles of toleration, the rights of the individual, and the connection of Church and State, but the raven naturally comes off second best, and long before the end of the book is reached, it flies away in search of carrion. Apart from its political interest, the book has great literary value, as Morgan Llwyd stands in the front rank as a writer of idiomatic Welsh. All Llwyd's books are full of mysticism, for he was a devoted student of the works of Jacob Behmen, the German mystic. This may account for the fact that, though he gained a numerous personal following, he did not succeed in establishing Nonconformity in North Wales, and it also explains why nearly all Llwyd's followers eventually joined the Society of Friends. He died in the year 1659, at the early age of forty.

Vavasour Powell, the friend and contemporary of Morgan Llwyd, was a native of Radnorshire. He came under Puritan influences in his youth, and thus drew upon himself the disapproval of his neighbours and relatives. There is yet extant among the records of the Radnor Great Sessions a writ served upon him for treasonable words used with reference to Charles I. He was of the rash, headstrong temperament, which continually leads its owners into trouble, and, though on this occasion he succeeded in clearing himself, the charge was a forerunner of many similar ones brought against him in after life. Shortly after the breaking out of the Civil War he went to England, and acted for a time as an army chaplain, but in 1646 he returned to Wales.

From this time onward he took a very active part in disseminating the doctrines of Nonconformity throughout the Principality, both by means of his preaching and by using to the utmost the influences which the ascendency of the Puritan party in England placed within his power.

Like Morgan Llwyd he also became for a time a fervent upholder of the Fifth Monarchy creed, and when General Harrison was appointed Governor of Wales in 1649, he found no comrade more energetic and strenuous than Vavasour Powell. On the downfall of the Harrison party in 1653, Vavasour fulminated in London pulpits against the tyranny of Cromwell, calling him, among other choice expressions, "the dissemblingest perjured villain in the world." But though he was hot-headed and rash and apt to be carried away by the passion of the moment, his character will always be revered by Welshmen on account of the sincerity of his motives and his consistent advocacy of the principles of religious equality and freedom of thought. He probably suffered more persecution than any other Welsh preacher of his age, and spent the last eleven years of his life for the most part in prison. One of the great features of modern Nonconformity in Wales is the "Cymanfa" or open-air preaching meeting, and it is worthy of note that Vavasour Powell appears to have been the originator of this characteristic custom. At first he was an Independent, but he afterwards joined the Baptists, and continued a member of that denomination until his death in 1670. In spite of their manifold activities, neither Morgan Llwyd nor Vavasour Powell can be said to have built up a strong Nonconformist community in North Wales, and thirty years after their deaths it would probably be correct to say that Nonconformity as a living force in the country was of no account. In making such a statement, however, some allowance ought to be made for the fact that a large number of the adherents of both Llwyd and Powell eventually joined the Society of Friends, a body of people whose direct influence on the rise of Welsh Nonconformity was small, though indirectly through their sufferings for freedom of speech they made possible the acceptance of the doctrine of toleration, which, by legalising Nonconformity, removed the most serious obstacle to its growth.

The first Welsh Quaker, John ap John, was a native of Plasisa, near Ruabon. He came under the influence of Morgan Llwyd, and appears to have been a prominent member of his congregation. When George Fox first came into North Wales in 1654, John ap John was sent by Llwyd to make inquiries regarding Fox, with the result that he immediately joined the Friends and became one of their most devoted missionaries. On Fox's pilgrimage to Wales in 1657, John ap John acted as his interpreter, and travelled with him through the country from Cardiff to Beaumaris. But the most interesting of the Welsh Quakers was undoubtedly Richard Davies of Cloddiau Cochion, near Welshpool. He had been for some years an adherent of the church to which Morgan Llwyd and Vavasour Powell ministered, but when the Friends came into the country he joined their fold. He has left on record in his quaint autobiography a very graphic account of the difficulties with which the early pioneers of Dissent had to contend. As in other parts of the country, the Quakers were persecuted by all sections of the religious and political communities, though no doubt they brought a great deal of it on their own heads by their interference with religious services. When a Quaker was accused of a breach of the peace, he was forthwith haled (to use their own expressive word) before the magistrates in private or in open court. Some magistrates undoubtedly sympathised with them, and they were allowed to go free after receiving a warning, but they were frequently thrown into prisons where they remained for months and sometimes for years. Many of the adherents of Morgan Llwyd and Vavasour Powell in the counties of Merioneth, Radnor, and Montgomery, finding the teaching of the Friends more in unison with their own beliefs, joined that body, and as they were men of substance and position their influence and example attracted large numbers to the fold. For over twenty years these people endured unrelenting persecution without flinching; but when William Penn received the

grant of a large tract of land in Pennsylvania, many of them decided to emigrate in order to secure freedom of conscience and a cessation of the cruel sufferings which had perforce been their lot for so many years. Consequently, in the year 1682, a small band of emigrants took ship in the *Lyon* vessel, and in due course arrived at Philadelphia, where they settled in the district of Merion. They were the precursors of a more numerous body, until in process of time Wales was depleted of her Quaker sons and daughters, and the United States of America received into her territories the ancestors of many of her most distinguished citizens. Indeed it would be difficult to overrate the influence which this small band of emigrants have had upon the whole history of the United States, for their descendants have not only been the leading citizens of Philadelphia for two centuries, but they have been pioneers in most of the religious and philanthropic movements in that country.

It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Nonconformity was again revived in North Wales, and this came about through the efforts of the Methodists of the south. The great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century soon made itself felt in South Wales, for as early as the year 1735, Daniel Rowland, the curate of Llangeitho in Cardiganshire, had begun to attract attention by the fervour of his sermons, and Howel Harris of Trevecca had commenced his evangelising labours. It was some time, however, before the new doctrines received any general support in the North, a fact probably attributable to the sparsity of the Nonconformists, and the hatred with which the Roundheads were regarded by the descendants of a people who had been unwavering in their support of the King and the Church a century before.

The prevalence of Methodism in North Wales to-day is largely due to the policy of Thomas Charles of Bala, who settled in that town about the year 1783. Charles

organised a wonderful system of itinerant schools, where the poor were taught to read and write. He was a native of St. Clears in South Wales, and he had seen the excellent effects resulting from the circulating schools founded by his neighbour, Griffith Jones of Llanddowror. In course of time, however, struck by the success of the English system of Sunday schools, he started similar schools in North Wales ; but instead of confining their ministrations to the young of both sexes, he induced men and women of all ages to attend, and in this manner laid the foundation of what is undoubtedly the most wonderful system of Sunday schools in the whole world. The effects soon became evident, for the people flocked in their hundreds to the new schools, and chapels were erected with marvellous rapidity throughout the country. A generation later North Wales produced a crop of great preachers who consolidated the work begun by Charles and his contemporaries, and built a solid edifice on their foundation. The older Nonconformist denominations were also revived and rapidly spread through the land, so that before the middle of the nineteenth century there was hardly a parish or a hamlet without its meeting-place.

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Beaumaris. Carnarvon. Llanfyllin. Montgomery. Newborough. Pwllheli. Welshpool. Beaumaris.

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RELICS, CIVIC PLATE, REGALIA, &c.

By E. Alfred Jones

WALES has lost many historical and artistic treasures. Welsh mediæval manuscripts and relics of Eisteddvodau have disappeared with such relics as the sword and buckler of "exquisite workmanship," said to have been wrought at Wrexham, for which Guttor Glyn, the fifteenth-century poet, sang the praises of the abbot of Valle Crucis. The havoc wrought at the Reformation, when cathedrals, religious houses, and parish churches were despoiled of their priceless treasures, cannot be adequately pictured. Of this pre-Reformation treasure, only three silver vessels have survived, namely, the two chalices of the same form, of about the year 1500, at Llanelian-yn-Rhos in Denbighshire and Llandudwen in Carnarvonshire; and the paten dated 1535 at Llanmaes in Glamorganshire.[1] With these may perhaps be included the highly interesting silver chalice and paten, of about 1230, which not improbably belonged to the Cistercians of Cymmer abbey, and were found buried in the ground near Dolgelly. These have recently been presented by the King to the Welsh National Museum.

A mazer bowl of great interest, in Clynnog church in Carnarvonshire, of maple-wood, *circa* 1480, mounted in silver and inscribed in Latin, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, Son of God, have mercy upon me," is probably the sole extant relic of the monastic house at that place.

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[1] The two thirteenth-century silver chalices in St. David's cathedral are burial chalices, and therefore do not come within this category.

Mention should here be made of the Celtic ornaments of gold dug up in Flintshire, and now in the British Museum. They comprise two bracelets, a crescent, and a peytrel, or breastplate for a horse, of beautiful workmanship, of the later Bronze period. To this list may be added the Caergwrle bowl of gold and wood, just presented by Sir Foster Cunliffe to the Royal Commission on Welsh Monuments, and by the Commission handed over to the Welsh National Museum.

If North Wales cannot show as interesting a series of carved Celtic crosses of the Christian period as those in the South, it can boast of the preservation of five Celtic hand-bells of cast bronze, which belonged to the early Welsh churches. In form they are quadrangular, two having their original zoömorphic handles. They belonged originally to the following five churches: Dolwyddelen,[1] Llangwnadl,[2] Llangystenyn,[3] and Llanarmon in Carnarvonshire, and Llanrhyddlad in Anglesey.

These small bells are believed to have been first employed for ecclesiastical purposes by the early Celtic Church in Ireland, whence they spread to Wales, England, Scotland, and Brittany. It is to Ireland, the country of their ecclesiastical origin, that we must go for the study of these historical bells, as well as for that of other splendid examples of Celtic metal work of the Christian period. Many of the Irish bells were at a later date enclosed in exquisitely wrought outer cases called shrines. One of the most remarkable is the shrine of "St. Patrick's Will"[4] (1091–1105), in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. St. Patrick, indeed, is said to have employed three craftsmen almost solely for making these bells. No Welsh bell with its shrine has survived. But one would seem to have been found

[1] Now at Gwydir Castle, Llanrwst.
[2] Acquired by the Welsh National Museum at Madryn Castle sale in 1910.
[3] In the Powysland Museum, Welshpool.
[4] *Celtic Art*, by J. Romilly Allen, 1904, p. 204.

at the restoration of St. Cybi's church at Holyhead in 1713, which was described by Lewis Morris the antiquary, in a letter to Browne Willis, as "a small brass bell curiously wrought with net work."

Although these bells were in the early Celtic Church originally intended to call worshippers to prayer, before the erection of towers containing larger bells, other uses for

CELTIC HAND-BELL.

them gradually crept in in later mediæval times—in the service of the mass and at funerals. Their association with Welsh and Irish, Scotch and Breton saints is well known. Illtyd, Teilo, Beuno, and other Welsh saints had their special bells, as had St. Bridget. St. Gildas is distinguished in Christian art by his bell. Giraldus Cambrensis thus speaks of these hand-bells: "I must not omit that the portable bells were held in great reverence by the people and clergy both in Ireland, Scotland, and

Wales, insomuch that they had greater regard for oaths sworn on these than on the Gospels. For by some occult virtue, with which they were in a manner divinely imbued . . . those who forfeited such oaths have often been severely punished, and the chastisement inflicted on transgressors has been severe." Giraldus mentions a bell in the church at Glascwm, said to have belonged to St. David himself, and endowed with great virtues. St. Augustine also refers to the great veneration for bells in the Celtic Church.

In post-Reformation times these early Celtic bells were used in Wales as corpse-bells, having been rung by the parish clerk, who preceded the funeral ringing the bell—which is doubtless a survival of a custom in the funeral service according to the old English ritual, as may be seen in the celebrated Bayeux tapestry, where, in the funeral of Edward the Confessor, two boys are depicted ringing small hand-bells. Chaucer refers to the same custom in his time. The custom was retained in North Wales well into the nineteenth century. Not only were the ancient Celtic bells used for this purpose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but small bells were specially made. Two examples in North Wales may be mentioned. The first, dated 1665, and copied from the Celtic bells, is in Gwydir chapel in Llanrwst church. The second, circular and dated 1703, is in Caerwys church. An article on funeral hand-bells in the Vale of Clwyd has been written by Rev. J. Fisher.[1]

The boroughs of North Wales have a goodly display of civic plate, regalia, seals, &c., as will be observed from the following account. Many original matrices of ecclesiastical, monastic, borough, and other seals have perished, though wax impressions have been preserved, such as that of Harlech, A.D. 1529, and Llewelyn's seal, illustrated on page 167.

[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 6th series, vol. vi., 1906.

Beaumaris.

The corporation of this ancient borough possesses two silver maces, three old silver-gilt chains, a silver oar and two seals. It is fortunate in having preserved to this day the original matrix of the seal of 1295, when the borough received its first charter from Edward I. and when that king erected the castle. This seal, which is 2½ inches in diameter, bears a single-masted ship

Beaumaris Seal.

with a furled sail, on the waves of the sea. Above the prow is a shield of England, and over the helm a castle (for Castile), above which is a crescent, which indicate Edward I. and his first queen, Eleanor of Castile. The legend is:—

s' commvne : commvnitatis : ville : de : beavmareys.

A more recent and smaller seal was copied from the original, and was presented by the seventh Viscount Bulkeley in 1796.

The insignia consist of a pair of silver maces, a silver oar, and five chains of silver-gilt.

The maces are 32 inches long, and are of conventional form, but with unusual features. They have open-arched crowns, surmounted by an orb and cross which are affixed to a circlet of crosses-patée and fleurs-de-lis, alternating with balls. The heads are unusual in that they are of open-work foliage, with two oval medallions. One of these bears the arms of the borough, and the other, those of Bertie. Each is inscribed:—"*This Mace, Originally the Gift of Mr Bertie to the Corporation of Beaumaris was Beautified by Lord Viscount Bulkeley* 1781." It was then that the heads were re-constructed and two beaker-cups were fitted into them. These cups are engraved with the borough and Bulkeley arms and the words: *Intaminatis fulget honoribus.* The maces, in their original condition, were made in London about 1710 by Edward Peacock or Thomas Peele. The donor was Hon. Charles Bertie, sixth son of the first Earl of Abingdon, who sat in parliament as member for Beaumaris. His portrait is in the possession of Sir Richard Williams-Bulkeley. His sister, Bridget, married the fourth Viscount Bulkeley.

The silver oar, 13 inches long, formerly worn by the water bailiff, is inscribed: "*Wm. Brynker Esqr. Mayor* 1726 *Cadd^r. Williams, Owen Ellis, Bayliffs* 1726." It also bears the borough arms. The oar was made at Chester in 1725–26 by Richard Richardson, the maker of a small silver oar of 1719–20, belonging to the corporation of that city, and of the silver maces of Carnarvon.

Three of the silver chains, one for the mayor and two for the bailiffs, were given in 1781 by the seventh Viscount Bulkeley, who represented Anglesey in parliament from 1774 until 1784, when he was created a peer of Great Britain. He and his wife gave silver plate to St. Mary's church at Beaumaris in 1810, and he presented a fine silver soup tureen, of 1776–77, to Jesus

College, Oxford, where he was educated, and where his portrait may also be seen.

CARNARVON.

The matrix of the fine old seal of Carnarvon bears the arms of Edward II. as Prince of Wales, above which is an eagle from the arms of Sir Otho de Grandison, 1291–92. Its diameter is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The legend is

✠ S' COMVNITATIS VILLE D' KARNARVAN.

CARNARVON SEAL.

The two plain silver maces, 30 inches long, are inscribed: —"*The Gift of Captain George Twisleton of Ilyar Esqr. To the Ancient And Loyal Corporation of Carnarvan* 1718." The donor's arms and the modern arms of Carnarvon are engraved on the heads. The maces bear the marks of Richard Richardson of Chester, who made

the silver oar of Beaumaris. One mace also bears a mark, NW, with a star below.

CRICCIETH.

The matrix of a seal which was found at Trawsfynydd, and presented to the British Museum by the late Mr.

CRICCIETH SEAL.

R. H. Wood, is probably the original seal of Criccieth, which was made a municipal borough in 1284–85. The bronze seal is circular, $1\frac{11}{16}$ inches in diameter, with a loop on the back, and bears for device a triple-towered castle standing in a ship, and surmounted by a dragon and a man blowing a horn. The legend is[1]

✠ : S' : COMVNE DE CARVKIN IN WAL' ✱ :

It appears to belong to the latter half of the 13th century, and is similar in design and lettering to the seal of Harlech.

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[1] *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, xviii. 19.

Denbigh Loving Cup and Borough Maces.

Ruthin Silver Cups.

DENBIGH.

Denbigh received its first charter from Henry de Lacy, Earl of Chester, in the reign of Edward I. The old insignia consist of two silver maces. In addition to these there is a fine and rare old silver loving cup. These are illustrated on plate on opposite page.

The two maces are a pair, 14½ inches long, and unfortunately are in a dilapidated and incomplete condition; the hemispherical heads are plain, their bases being decorated with acanthus leaves in relief, and their top edges having crestings of crosses and fleurs-de-lis. The plain stems are divided in the middle by mouldings and terminate in compressed knops. On the tops of the heads are the Stuart arms in relief, and engraved on the heads are the donor's arms with a feather mantling, and a copy of the borough seal. Both are inscribed: "*The Guift of Sr Thomas Myddelton of Chirke Castle Bart to ye towne of Denbigh in ye yeare of his being Aldrman of ye said Towne* 1676." These maces were doubtless made in London, by an unknown maker, whose initials, W. B., are stamped upon them.

Sir Thomas Myddelton, the donor, was the son of Sir Thomas Myddelton, first baronet, and Lord Mayor of London in 1613, and his wife Charlotte, daughter of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Keeper of the Great Seal. The donor himself was created a baronet six years before the death of his father, who was the founder of the Myddelton family of Chirk Castle.

The silver loving cup has a plain hemispherical bowl supported by a baluster stem and a high truncated base, the total height being 13 inches. It is inscribed: "ANNO 1616. *The Guifte of* HVGHE MIDDELTON, *citizen and gouldsmith of London, a Burgess of this Towne of Denbeighe.*" On the bowl are the donor's arms, with his motto, *Omnia ex Deo.* It bears the London date-letter for 1616–17,

and the unknown maker's mark, S. F. or F. S., in a monogram, as on an ornate cup of the same date in the Emperor of Russia's remarkable collection of old English plate, which bears the royal arms of James I., King of England, and was given by him to the Czar Michael of Russia. The same maker's mark is also on the cup, given by Sir Hugh Myddelton to the borough of Ruthin. Sir Hugh Myddelton, the donor of this fine old cup, was the eldest son of Richard Myddelton, governor of Denbigh Castle, and Jane, daughter of alderman Hugh Dryhurst of Denbigh, and was born at Galch Hill in the parish of Henllan, Denbighshire, in 1589–90. He became one of those prosperous London citizens who combined the business of goldsmith with other successful enterprises. He was not, as might be supposed from the inscription, a practical designer and worker in the precious metals, but, like another successful goldsmith connected with Wales —Sir John Williams, silversmith to James I., and the donor of the unique silver chalice of 1610–11 to his native parish of Beddgelert—he bought and sold plate made by the actual craftsman. Sir Hugh Myddelton, it will be remembered, was the originator of that great scheme for supplying London with water, called the New River Water Company, and it was then that James I. created him a baronet. His association with the town of Denbigh was close: not only was he mainly instrumental in obtaining Queen Elizabeth's charter of 1597, by which he became first capital burgess and first alderman, but he also represented the borough in parliament for several years. The official records under date of September 8, 1616, make an acknowledgment of this precious gift in the following words:—

"Be it remembered (for the Glorye of God and the p'petuall memoriall of the giver) to o^r posteritye That Hughe Middelton Esquir, Cittizen and Gouldsmyth of London (the first Capitall Burges and first Alderman named in the late Charter graunted by the late Queene Elyzabeth of famous memorye), hath freelye bestowed upon the nowe Aldermen Bayliffes and Capitall Burgesses of this Towne and their Successors for evr on great Silver

Cupp of thirtie and five ounces Gouldsmiths' weight, with his name upon it and his Armes with hys Motto (*Omnia ex Deo*) not to be used by any officer alone or any other privat man, but to be only used at the publick meetings of the said Aldermen Bayliffes and Capitall burgesses and their successors for evr or any other publique meetings for the credit of this Towne and to be kept in noe one mans custodye but in the same chest wher the said Charter is kept."

A tradition, based on not unsubstantial evidence, is that the Denbigh and Ruthin cups were made from silver derived from Welsh mines. A silver cup of the year 1599–1600, which belonged to and bears the arms of Sir Hugh Myddelton, was exhibited by Mr. H. Peacock a few years ago. His portrait, painted by Cornelius Janssen, is in the collection of the Duke of Portland, and a duplicate is at Goldsmiths' Hall.

DINAS MAWDDWY.

The old copper or bronze mace of this place is now in private hands.

FLINT.

Flint was granted its first charter by Edward I. in 1277, when he was living at Flint Castle. The old silver mace has a plain cone-shaped head, with a scalloped cresting and with plain cross-arches, the staff being plain. The royal arms and ciphers of William and Mary are engraved on the top. Its total length is 27 inches.[1] This mace was acquired when Sir Roger Mostyn, third baronet, who was instrumental in obtaining the confirmation of the borough charters, was constable of Flint Castle.

HOLT.

The governing charter of this ancient borough was granted by Queen Elizabeth, which confirmed, however, the earlier one of Henry IV. There are two silver maces

[1] For an illustration see the *Corporation Plate of England and Wales*, by Jewitt and Hope, vol. i. p. 208; 1895.

here. The earliest is known as the "Queen's Mace," and has a plain semi-globular head with a cresting of fleurs-de-lis. On the top are the royal arms of James I. The shaft is plain, and the total length is 20½ inches. A lion is on the globular base, which is inscribed: "1606 . *D* . *Speede* . *Mayor*." The maker's mark is I. L. This mace has suffered several "restorations"—in 1668, when Tho. F. Spanne was Mayor, and in 1808, during the mayoralty of O. Dodsley.

The second mace, called the "Mayor's Mace," has an open-arched crown, with the royal arms underneath, and a cresting of fleurs-de-lis and crosses. Supporting the head are four ornamental brackets. The shaft is divided by heavy knops, the total length being 20½ inches.

In or about 1750, the head was fitted with a loving cup. The mace was "restored" in 1749–50, and again between 1846 and 1860. It bears the London date-letter for 1709–10, and the mark of the maker, Benjamin Pyne, who made the Welshpool maces.

LLANFYLLIN.

The governing charter of this borough was, until 1885, that granted in the twenty-fifth year of Charles II. Here are two small plain old silver maces, which were carried before the two bailiffs, who were the virtual governors of the town before the granting of the new charter in 1885. The maces, which are 8 inches long, have plain heads, which are embellished with the emblems of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the fleurs-de-lis of France, all crowned and in relief. A cresting of crosses and fleurs-de-lis is on the heads, and on the tops are the royal arms of the Stuart sovereigns, and the arms, coronet, and supporters of William, third baron and first Earl of Powis, who accompanied James II. to France after the Revolution. The maces are not marked, but were doubtless made about 1680.

MONTGOMERY.

This borough still boasts of the possession of its original charter of 1486. The old insignia consist of two silver maces and a staff.

One of the two plain silver maces is 15¾ inches long, and probably dates from the charter of Queen Elizabeth; the hemispherical head has a cresting of fleurs-de-lis and crosses, and is embellished with a pair of keys—crossed in saltire, alternating with a Tudor rose. On the flat top are the royal arms of the Tudor sovereigns—*England quartering France modern.* The arms of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, are on the terminal knop.

The second mace is the same size, and has a deeper head, with the royal arms of the House of Hanover on the top; the same Herbert arms are on the terminal knop. It was made in the eighteenth century.

The staff of the constable of Montgomery is of wood, painted green, and surmounted by a carved crown, the arms of the country being painted on one side.

NEWBOROUGH.

The ancient borough, which Camden has declared has "lost much of its ancient splendour by heaps of sand cast upon it," received its first charter in 1303 from Edward II., when Prince of Wales. The corporate body was dissolved in 1814, and the insignia then dispersed. The fine ancient seal, 1⅝ inches in diameter, here reproduced, is of about the year 1400, and bears the device of a single-masted vessel on the waves, with the marginal legend—"Sigillū : comunitatis : de : neuburgh." The present owner of the seal, Mr. Thomas Prichard of Llwydiarth Esgob, Llanerchymedd, inherited it from his grandfather, Robert Prichard, the last recorder of the borough, who attached a label to it, with this injunction: "This seal is

not to be delivered up without payment of £5, 5s. 0d., due from the corporation to R. P."

The interesting old brass mace[1] is evidently of local manufacture, and of eighteenth-century date. It came into the possession of Lord Boston from his grandfather,

NEWBOROUGH SEAL.

who was the last mayor of Newborough. Lord Boston has deposited it in the Prichard-Jones Institute at Newborough.

PWLLHELI.

It was from Edward the Black Prince that Pwllheli received its first charter of incorporation. It still retains the matrix of its exceedingly fine seal, which probably dates from 1422, when the first charter was confirmed by Henry VI. This seal, which is 1¾ inches in diameter, is an elephant, bearing on its back a triple-towered castle, enclosed within cusping. On each side are branches of trees. The legend is :

SIGILLUM : COMMUNITATIS : VILLE : DE : PORTHELY.

In 1857 the seal was mounted in a frame with a

[1] Photograph and information sent by Mr. E. Neil Baynes.

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handle, of silver, at the expense of Mr. T. Love D. Jones-Parry.

The silver mace with mahogany staff is a very rare, if not unique, form, taking as it does the shape in miniature of a loving cup, such as was popular in England about 1760. The body is vase-shaped and fluted on the lower part: on the two handles are animals' heads. It is

PWLLHELI SEAL.

inscribed "*Repetita placebit;* IN USUM . LÆTITIÆ : *An* : *Dom* : 1765." The weight of the cup is 10 oz. 15 dwts., and its height is $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

RUTHIN.

Allusion has been made under Denbigh to the old silver loving cup of the borough of Ruthin. In shape it is exactly like the Denbigh cup, but $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches shorter. It was also made by the same unknown silversmith, and given by the same donor, Sir Hugh Myddelton. The inscription is "*Anno* 1616. *The guifte of* HVGHE MIDDELTON *citizen and Gouldsmith of London. A Burges of this Towne of Ruthyne.*" The Myddelton arms are engraved on the bowl.

There is also here another old English silver cup of

great interest—interest from the point of rarity and from the name of the donor, Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester from 1625 until his imprisonment and compulsory retirement in 1643, and nephew of Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster and founder of Ruthin Grammar School. In shape it resembles an inverted bell on a high baluster stem with a splayed base, the bowl being granulated, and the lower part of the stem having a beading and cast foliage. It is inscribed: "*Ex dono Godfridi Goodman Episco Glouer Febry* 28, 1638, *Æta* 56." Engraved on one side of the bowl are the old arms of the see of Gloucester impaling those of the city of Gloucester; and on the other side are the arms of the donor, with his motto, *Vsqve quo.* This rare cup, which is $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, was made in London in 1637–38 by a prominent silversmith of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., whose mark is a monogram of the letters F, T, believed to be F. Terry. He was the maker of several historical cups, among which is one of 1626–27, given by two conspicuous Puritans, Atherton Hough (formerly mayor of Boston in Lincolnshire) and his wife Elizabeth, to the First Church at Boston, in New England, where it is one of the greatest treasures in the extraordinary collection of historic plate in that centre of Puritan life. Four massive and ornate cups of different dates between 1612 and 1639, by the same silversmith, are in the historical collection of the Emperor of Russia; and another specimen of his work is the Montagu cup of 1628–29 at Christ's College, Cambridge.

Two smaller silver tumbler-cups, such as were popular in England for about a century—from 1660 to 1760—are part of the treasures of the corporation of Ruthin: the inscriptions to the effect that they were the gift in 1638 of Bishop Godfrey Goodman, the donor of the above cup, would imply that they were made at that time. But, unfortunately, the bishop's original gift was remade into these tumblers in 1706–07 (when there was little or

no reverence for preserving gifts in their original form), to the order of alderman Edmund Jones. One of the names engraved on these tumblers was that of alderman Rees Jones. This name was subsequently erased because he "was hanged near the town for having poisoned a relation who would not dispose of a small estate which enabled him to rear a numerous infant family."

The cups are illustrated at p. 241.

The chalice of 1596–97 and the silver-mounted bowl given in 1597 by dean Goodman are still preserved in Ruthin church.

WELSHPOOL.

This borough received its first charter in 1323 from John de Charlton, Lord of Powis. This original charter was in existence in 1728, but had disappeared prior to 1865. The old insignia consist of two plain silver maces, with the royal arms on the tops, and are here reproduced. Their length is 19¼ inches. The marks indicate that they were made in London in 1705–06 by a prominent silversmith, one Benjamin Pyne, the maker of Nell Gwyn's charming bellows of marqueterie and silver at Windsor Castle.

An old list of 1728 indicates that there were originally four maces, but two have disappeared, together with five halberds.

WELSH COINAGE.

In addition to the silver pennies of the Norman and Plantagenet periods, which were struck at Rhuddlan, a mint was established at Aberystwyth under Thomas Bushell in 1637, and silver coins were minted there until 1642. The coins were a half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny. The silver for these was obtained from mines in the neighbourhood, which had hitherto been sent up to the Tower of London

mint. No gold coins were issued. In 1642 the moneyers and all their implements were removed to Shrewsbury.

In the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, certain silver coins, from a crown to a sixpence, were stamped with plumes to denote that they were struck from silver obtained from Welsh mines. Some other Queen Anne, as well as George I. and II., silver coins bear the plumes and roses, which indicate that the metal came both from Welsh and English mines.

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